

A STUDY OF VOLUNTARY WELFARE AGENCIES' RESPONSES
TO THE PHENOMENON OF SQUATTING
BY COLOURED PEOPLE IN CAPE TOWN

by

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLES	v
LISTS	vii
ABSTRACT	ix
 CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION 	1
Notes 	13
2. THE COLOURED SQUATTERS AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES	14
3. SOME RESPONSES TO THE COLOURED SQUATTER SITUATION	17
The Role of Central and Local Authorities	17
The Role of the Coloured Community ...	19
The Role of the Coloured Squatters ...	21
The Role of Religious Leaders 	24
The Role of Business, Commerce and Industry	25
The Role of Welfare 	28
Notes 	32
4. DEFINITIONS 	34
Cape Town 	34
Voluntary Welfare Agencies 	34
Coloured 	38
African 	39
White 	40
Squatter 	40
Notes 	41

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER	
5. METHOD	43
Problem Identification	44
Hypothesis	47
Design	48
Observation	51
Data Recording	52
Marshalling	53
Analysis	55
Verdict	57
Action	57
Notes	58
6. CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE	59
Notes	63
7. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART I OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE : UNIVARIATE TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS	64
Notes	94
8. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART I OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE : BIVARIATE TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS	95
Notes	145
9. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART II OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE : TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS	146
Notes	159
10. CONCLUSION	160
APPENDIX A : LIST OF THE QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE	165
APPENDIX B : LIST OF THE QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR FIRST DRAFT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SHOWING, FOR EACH QUESTION, THE FINAL FORM ADOPTED AND PROVIDING COMMENT ON CHANGES MADE OR REASONS FOR REJECTION	172
APPENDIX C : COVERING LETTER TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE ...	195
BIBLIOGRAPHY	197

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Carla Taylor

TABLES

1. Agencies: return of questionnaires
2. Respondent agencies: sections of the questionnaire answered or partly answered
3. Respondent agencies: type of service offered
4. Respondent agencies: population group served
5. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for intervention
6. Respondent agencies: opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
7. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should be involved in intervention
8. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for co-ordination
9. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should co-ordinate
10. Respondent agencies: opinions on potential advantages and disadvantages of co-ordination
11. Respondent agencies: whether activities were undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting
12. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/types of services rendered
13. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for intervention/types of services rendered
14. Respondent agencies: opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention/types of services rendered
15. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should be involved in intervention/types of services rendered
16. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for co-ordination/types of services rendered
17. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should co-ordinate/types of services rendered
18. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/opinions on need for intervention
19. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
20. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
21. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/opinions on need for co-ordination.

22. Respondent agencies: availability of service to Coloured population group/opinions on who should co-ordinate
23. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/types of services rendered
24. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/availability of service to Coloured population group
25. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for intervention/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
26. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for intervention/opinions on need for co-ordination
27. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for intervention/opinions on who should co-ordinate
28. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/opinions on need for intervention
29. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for co-ordination/opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
30. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should co-ordinate/opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
31. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
32. Respondent agencies: opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
33. Respondent agencies: opinions on need for co-ordination/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
34. Respondent agencies: opinions on who should co-ordinate/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
35. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/opinions on who should be involved in intervention
36. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/ opinions on need for co-ordination
37. Respondent agencies: activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting/opinions on who should co-ordinate
38. Agencies that responded to Coloured squatting: nature of work
39. Agencies that responded to Coloured squatting: awareness of difficulties
40. Agencies that responded to Coloured squatting: employment of social workers.
41. Agencies that responded to Coloured squatting: social workers' participation in responses to Coloured squatting.
42. Agencies that responded to Coloured squatting: opinion on usefulness of social work methods

LISTS

- I 192 services offered by 105 respondent agencies and classified according to type of service.
- II 101 respondent agencies that provided information on population group served classified according to number of population groups served.
- III 101 respondent agencies that provided information on population group served classified according to availability of their service to each of four population groups.
- IV 35 responses included in the category "provision of housing and related services", as divided into eight sub-categories.
- V 88 instances of types of helpful intervention suggested by 44 respondent agencies.
- VI 220 opinions expressed by 59 respondent agencies on who should be involved in intervention.
- VII 80 responses included in the category "State authorities" divided into sub-categories.
- VIII 69 opinions expressed by 43 respondent agencies on who should co-ordinate interventions.
- IX 60 respondent agencies serving Coloured population group classified according to all types of services rendered.
- X 26 respondent agencies serving Indian population group classified according to all types of services rendered.
- XI 83 respondent agencies serving White population group classified according to all types of services rendered.
- XII 34 respondent agencies serving African population group classified according to all types of services rendered.
- XIII 289 responses received out of a possible 594 responses from 99 respondents to questions 3 to 8 calling for opinions on Coloured squatting classified according to type of service required by respondent agencies.
- XIV 289 responses received out of a possible 594 responses from 99 respondents to questions 3 to 8 calling for opinions on Coloured squatting classified according to availability of services to the Coloured population.
- XV 228 opinions of 37 respondent agencies serving the Coloured population group on who should be involved in interventions related to Coloured squatting (178 opinions) and who should co-ordinate (50 opinions).

- XVI 95 opinions of 22 respondent agencies not serving the Coloured population group on who should be involved in interventions related to Coloured squatting (72 opinions) and who should co-ordinate (23 opinions).
- XVII 38 agencies favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to service rendered to Coloured population group.
- XVIII 24 agencies serving the Coloured group and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as actors in intervention.
- XIX 24 agencies serving the Coloured group and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as co-ordinators of intervention.
- XX 14 agencies serving non-Coloured groups and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as actors in intervention.
- XXI 14 agencies serving non-Coloured group and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as co-ordinators of intervention.
- XXII 39 statements concerning activities undertaken by 12 respondent agencies in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982.
- XXIII 12 respondent agencies classified according to the number of different types of activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982.
- XXIV 33 statements concerning intervention at various social levels undertaken by 9 respondent agencies.
- XXV 14 statements by 7 agencies concerning social work methods used in activities related to Coloured squatting.

ABSTRACT

The questions addressed in this research were: (a) to what extent had voluntary welfare agencies in Greater Cape Town been involved during 1982 in work concerning Coloured squatting, and (b) what opinions were held by the agencies concerning aspects of intervention in Coloured squatting. A brief background was given on squatting and on the involvement of various sectors of society in the problem of the Coloured housing shortage in Greater Cape Town.

The method of descriptive inquiry was employed. All voluntary social welfare agencies operating in Greater Cape Town and registered under the National Welfare Act and/or the Fund-Raising Act as at 30 September 1982 were listed. All (that is the total universe except for three whose addresses were not on record) were approached by means of a mailed questionnaire containing both closed and open-ended questions on the subject of agency involvement in Coloured squatting and agency opinion on aspects of intervention. Anonymity was guaranteed and respondents were invited to state reasons (if any) for being unable to respond or preferring not to respond to the questions. Forty per cent (114) of the agencies had replied by due date. These constituted a self-selected sample which was, therefore, not representative of the original universe. It was, however, deliberately invited as constituting a new universe comprising the respondent agencies, and was so interpreted in the analysis and conclusions.

Analysis of the data revealed that 12 of the 114 agencies that had returned the questionnaire had been actively involved in intervention with Coloured squatters. Of these, only three had responded on a level beyond that of counselling or assisting materially in cases of individual need. Social workers had been involved in work related to Coloured squatting in four of the agencies.

Sixteen of the 114 respondent agencies had answered none of the opinion questions, and had indicated that they were not sufficiently informed on the subject to be able to express an opinion. Many others had answered some, but not all questions. The inquiry had been so designed that the extent and nature of this particular response was itself a source of data.

Comparison of responses from agencies serving Coloured clients and those not serving Coloured clients revealed differences in the opinions of the two groups. Specifically, these were related to the types of intervention advocated, the categories of actors proposed for involvement in both intervention and co-ordination of intervention, and the combinations of actors chosen for intervention. The actual roles envisaged for each category varied within the two groups of agencies. The most agreed-upon aspects were the need for intervention and co-ordination, and the preference for involvement of various actors in co-operation with one another.

The research employed both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many years of personal discomfort about the squatter situation in South Africa and a discussion on the subject with Professor Brunhilde Helm, Head of the School of Social Work at the University of Cape Town, provided the impetus for this investigation into aspects of squatting relevant to the profession of social work. For reasons that will be explained later, aspects related specifically to Coloured¹ squatting in Cape Town were chosen for the study.

However, Coloured squatting in Cape Town cannot be seen as a phenomenon separate from the overall housing shortage nor can it be viewed apart from historical developments regarding accommodation for all of South Africa's peoples.

Early general use of the term "squatter" can be traced back to the colonisation of North America, Australia, and to the early days of rural development in Southern Africa. An early United States definition reads:-

A settler having no formal or legal title to the land occupied by him, especially one thus occupying land in a district not yet surveyed or apportioned by the Government (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933, 735).

The illegal status of squatters is brought out further in the following passage:-

1788 J. MADISON in Sparks Corr.Amer.Rev.(1853)IV. 207
Many of them and their constituents are only squatters upon other people's land, and they are afraid of being brought to account (ibid.).

A few years later, however, or perhaps in some other part of the country, the squatters evidently had a less threatened existence.

1829 HALL Travels III.355 It is the fashion to speak slightly of these Pioneers, Squatters, Crackers, or whatever name it pleases them most to be called by, but I must own that I was well satisfied with almost every one of them whom I encountered (Mathews, Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles, 1951, 1626).

A similar attitude seems to come through in the Australian version which is as follows:-

One occupying a tract of pastoral land as a tenant of the crown; a grazier or sheep-farmer, especially on a large scale (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933, 735).

There is no suggestion here of illegality and nothing to cast a slur on the situation of the person thus settled. The following excerpts confirm this impression.

1847 LEICHARDT Fru1. Introd. p.xiv, We were received with the greatest kindness by my friends the "Squatters", a class principally composed of young men of good education, gentlemanly habits, and high principles (ibid.).

1889 Mrs C. PRAED Rom. Station 12, I am glad to have married a squatter instead of a townsman (ibid.).

These passages refer to early White settlers in the rural areas of newly colonised Australian territory.

South Africa was similarly colonised but here the history of the word "squatter" is a different one. The author was not able to trace an early South African English definition but the Afrikaans word "plakker" (squatter) was, clearly, used to describe a Black person in a specific situation rather than a White pioneer, and was related to the issue of land rights.

In the year 1655, writes Venter (1974, 244), disputes over land had already arisen at the Cape.

A large band of Hottentots had settled in encampment a few hundred metres from the mud and stone fort which the Commander had erected. They were "civilly desired" to move further away but refused, saying that the land belonged to them and not to the Whites, and that they would place their huts where they chose (ibid.).

Three years later when land along the Liesbeek River was granted to the first Free Burgers, the Hottentots were again to complain that "the Europeans keep the best land and graze their cattle where ours used to graze". The same scenario was to be played out again on a much grander scale when, as the burgers moved further into the interior during the next and succeeding centuries, they settled on land which was traditionally used by the Black races which had moved down the coast from East Africa (ibid.).

Who was then a "squatter"? It depended on who considered himself to be in rightful possession of the land. But more than that: it depended on who had the greater power. At any rate, the Afrikaans word "plakker" came to be used for a Black person in a specific relationship to a White landowning farmer, each, by mutual agreement, deriving some benefit from that relationship.

The definition of "plakker" in one of the most important dictionaries of the Afrikaans language reads as follows:-

Bantoe wat op 'n plaas van 'n Blanke bly, woon=
ploeg= en weiregte het en diens volgens ooreenkoms
lewer² (Kritzinger & Labuschagne, Verklarende
Afrikaanse Woordeboek, 1980, 775).

No question of illegality arises here since the arrangement implies the establishment of a contract but, through that contract, the Black person became the dependent party.

The situation described above is confirmed by Orpen (1979, 188-189) who mentions that

since few farmers earned any significant income in cash, cash wages were virtually non-existent, with most labourers gaining remuneration in kind, usually in the form of cattle, grazing rights or the erection of a hut.

That is, it appears that they exchanged whatever independence they then had for the right to live and work on the farmers' land. They became labourers; a fate that was also to befall some members of the White landless classes at times of economic hardship.

Since the promulgation of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951,³ the word "squatter" in both English and Afrikaans refers to anyone who is illegally accommodated on public or private land. In other words, a squatter in terms of this Act is not necessarily occupying rural land. However, the South African English translation for the word "plakker" still reads: "squatter (on a farm)" (Bosman et al., Tweekalige Woordeboek, 1969, 589).

Around the time when the above-mentioned arrangement between farmers and the local Black people was common, arrangements were also to be found between farmers and landless rural Whites whereby occupation of land was granted to

what were called "bywoners". These people were initially thought of as lessees or sometimes as partners of the owner (Wille, 1956, 42).

Farmers themselves were uncertain as to what this term implied. One farmer defined a "bywoner" as "almaal wat wit is op 'n plaas en nie baas is nie"; another said: "elke wit man wat op 'n ander se grond is en nie huurder is nie" (Grosskopf, 1932, 121). Thus, in the one version: any White man who is not the boss on the farm; and in the other version: any White man living on the land of another and who is not a lessee.

The Afrikaans dictionary already quoted gives us:-

Boer wat op die plaas van 'n ander woon en boer om 'n gedeelte van die oes of werk vir loon⁴ (Kritzinger & Labuschagne, Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek, 1980, 142).

At the time when farms were large and land not difficult to come by, land-owners would readily give permission to struggling relatives or friends to occupy their lands, and no specific conditions were laid down concerning the exchange of goods or services. However, as land became increasingly scarce and the economic circumstances of the farmers increasingly difficult, this practice ceased. The "bywoner" became a servant, a labourer, or a cattle-herd with the right to work the land, to occupy a structure thereon, and to receive certain payments and rations (Grosskopf, 1932, 120-122). That such "payments and rations" were at times very meagre indeed is illustrated by the following examples. In one instance this consisted of "huis, brandhout, kos en 10/- kontant per maand; geen eie vee nie". In another instance, "kos" was specified as consisting of "4 emmers kos (die helfte mielies)", and in still another case a part of the payment was made up of "een of twee paar velskoene per jaar" (Grosskopf, 1932, 123).

The "bywoner" basically had to depend upon the goodwill of the owner of the land and, where conditions were highly unfavourable or disputes arose, he and his family were bound to find themselves without shelter and in search of alternative employment. Such people, together with those farmers who ceased to make a reasonable living on the land, sought refuge in the towns and cities (Grosskopf, 1932, 132). Many had to resort to living in slum conditions; others erected their own shacks wherever they could find a likely place.

The following description of a White (non-squatter) settlement contains nothing that is essentially different from the squatter camps to be found in many parts of South Africa to-day: on a bare, arid ridge, just outside the municipal boundaries, resided 3 000 Whites in a township without streets, without water supplies, without electricity, and without street lighting (Grosskopf, 1932, 215). Similarly, the description of a shack erected by an "armblanke" (poor White) family could serve to describe to-day's shacks in Black and Coloured squatter settlements. In fact, this particular structure must be considered a "squatter" shack.

Op 'n groot spoorwegdorp is in die hoek waar twee sinkheininge bymekaarkom, 'n huis gemaak. Die hele vertrek is 6 voet lank, 4 voet breed en 5 voet hoog. Twee sye van die huis word deur die hoek van die sinkheining gevorm; die ander twee is van sinkplate. As dak dien die geraamte van 'n ou katel waaroor sakke en teerlappe gegooi is. Daarin slaap 'n moeder en 5 kindertjies⁵ (Grosskopf, 1932, 25).

A record dating back to 1894 reports a request to the authorities by a Landdros (magistrate) in Pretoria for the establishment of "eene lokatie voor arme menschen" (meaning poor Whites). When, however, permission for this was granted and a surveyor was given the task of measuring up the area, he complained that his task was made impossible because the terrain was already too densely populated. The same Landdros wrote again to the authorities in 1895 asking for further land to be granted to "arme Blanken, die zonder thuis rondzwerven in Pretoria" (Pelzer, 1937, 40,42). Thus, although no reference is made to these people as "squatters", they had sought what would to-day be considered illegal solutions to their homelessness.

In the 1930's, the social upliftment of the "armblankes", the provision for their housing needs, and the economic advancement of the White group generally, was a priority of the Government and has since done away with the need for Whites to squat--except in very rare cases which may be considered society's dropouts. That is, in a few exceptional cases, White people still squat but now they do so in order to escape the constraints and demands of an urbanised society whereas, previously, they had squatted because this was necessitated by their attempts to enter that society. It is clear that the squatting by Black and Coloured people results similarly

from their endeavour to "enter", and could therefore be seen as a stage in their socio-economic development which corresponds to the developmental phase of the White group during the early part of the century.

As had been the case with the "armblanke", economic forces drove many Black South Africans in search of employment to the towns and cities where, for them too, no adequate accommodation was available. The position of the Black people is, however, fundamentally different since there is legislation which circumscribes the conditions under which they may and may not live and work in certain areas.

"The first pass law applied to free persons (i.e. non-slaves) was introduced in the Cape in 1797" (Budlender, 1982, 630). Since then, a host of legal restrictions have been placed on the movements and activities of the Black population, culminating in the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 (as amended by the Black Laws Amendment Act 76 of 1963). No Black may remain in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours without being able to show that one of the following four conditions applies, i.e. that he or she

- (i) has since birth continuously resided in the area;
- (ii) has been in continuous lawful employment with one employer in the area for at least ten years, or has lawfully resided in the area for at least fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in the area and is not employed outside it. Migrant workers' contracts may not exceed a period of one year and they are consequently excluded on the grounds that their employment is not continuous. Any Black person who has been sentenced to a fine exceeding R500 or to imprisonment exceeding 6 months is likewise excluded;
- (iii) is the wife, unmarried daughter, or son under the age of 18 of a person qualified to reside in the area;
- (iv) has obtained official permission from a labour bureau. Such permission is, however, normally cancelled after one year or lapses after that period (Budlender, 1982, 630, 632-637).

A further restriction is contained in the provision that

it is a criminal offence for a black man to accommodate his wife (or any other black person) at the place where he lives without the permission of the owner, lessee, occupier or person in charge or control of the premises. It is also an offence for the owner, lessee, occupier or person in charge to give such consent without the permission of the urban local authority (Budlender, 1982, 635).

Despite these restrictions it has been impossible to stem the influx of Black South Africans to the cities. In 1975, Cape Town alone was estimated to have between 60 000 and 100 000 "illegal" Black residents (Van der Horst, 1978, 10). Approximately 30 000 of these were said to be squatting (Ellis et al., 1977, 2).

Repeated attempts at control, involving pass raids, evictions, demolition of shacks, arrests, and deportations, have not succeeded in reducing the number of Black squatters in urban areas, much less in alleviating their distress. Like "birds in a cornfield" they disappear from one site only to reappear in another (Stadler, 1979).

Howe, writing in 1982, reported inter alia the following sequence of events relating to a Black squatter settlement in Greater Cape Town:-

On 24 January two large plastic structures sheltering 120 squatters on the knoll of land adjoining Crossroads were demolished. Two days later, three squatters on this Nyanga-East site were injured when riot police opened fire on them. During four days of police and Administration Board raids on these squatters between 24 and 28 January, 84 arrests and deportations occurred. Yet another 70 squatters remained on the sand-dune, sleeping in the open without shelter (Howe, 1982, Preface).

That the situation continues unchanged is clear from a more recent report.

The homes of scores of people living near Crossroads went up in smoke today as Administration Board workers tore down shelters and burnt the material on bonfires. (The Argus, September 2, 1983, 6.)

The Chief Commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development is quoted as having said:-

"They're just squatting all over the show and I don't know where they have come from. I gave instructions to act against them. It's a terrible influx and it just cannot be tolerated" (ibid.).

The position of the Coloured people differs in that they are not subject to a system of passes and influx control. They are, however, as is any South African, subject to the provisions of the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966 which is a revised and consolidated version of the original Group Areas Act of 1950 and its amendment of 1957 (Jammie, 1982, 616). Before this

legislation was promulgated, Coloured and White as well as members of the Indian group lived side by side in many of South Africa's urban areas. The measures of this Act extend far beyond the question of who may own and occupy land and who may reside in certain areas: it, in fact, controls many aspects of the everyday lives of all South Africans. For the purpose of this study, however, the implications of this Act are considered only in relation to the Coloured squatter situation.

In respect of housing, the effects of the Act have burdened the Coloured people more than any other group.⁶ Despite an existing critical shortage of housing, 61 119 families of the Coloured group were, in the Cape Province alone, removed from their homes under the provisions of this Act by the year 1981. At that time the Government planned to move a further 5 200 Coloured families in this area (Minister of Community Development, "Questions and Replies", 1981).

Many families were moved from homes where their forefathers had lived. In origin, they stemmed from

a process of biological and cultural amalgamation and assimilation over a period of more than three centuries between slaves of a heterogeneous origin, indigenous Hottentot and other Khoisan aboriginal elements, White Europeans and the Bantu people (Cilliers, 1979, 261-262).

Population figures as at 1980 show that South Africa's Coloured group numbered 2 612 780 individuals in that year, i.e. a little more than half that of the White group and approximately one-sixth of that of the Black group (Smit et al., 1983, 2).

Coloured people in urban areas accounted for 2 002 300 of the total and, in the metropolitan areas of the Cape (excluding the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex), the Coloured population outnumbered the White (976 600 Coloured; 582 400 White) (Smit et al., 1983, 3-5).

Some of the more recent comments and figures concerning Coloured housing needs are given below in chronological order.

- 1964: Of the Coloured people living in Cape Town, Wynberg, Bellville, and Simonstown (i.e. in parts of Greater Cape Town), 9.4% were living in shacks and backyards (Whisson and Kahn, 1969, 4).
- 1970: 359 530 Coloured families and 188 735 single Coloured persons in South Africa were in need of accommodation (National Building Research Institute, 1980, 23).
- 1974: "Unquestionably, the problem of housing the tens of thousands of homeless Coloureds in the Western Cape has reached alarming proportions" (Venter, 1974, 33).
- 1976: There were approximately 175 000 people, mostly Coloured, living under squatter conditions in the area of Greater Cape Town (Beinart, 1976, 106).
- 1981: "At the level of expenditure provided for in the Budget, there is no hope whatsoever for catching up with the backlog of housing that exists, let alone keeping up with the demand due to the natural increase in the population" (Eglin, as quoted in The Cape Times, 17 August, 1981).

Western (1981, 279), referring to the University of South Africa's estimate of the average growth rate of the Coloured population, gives the following figures:- during the decade 1960-1970: 3.29 per cent per annum; during the period 1970-1977: 2.35 per cent per annum. Thomas (1976, 52) suggests that the total Coloured population will have increased from over two-and-a-half million in 1980 to more than four-and-a-half million by the year 2000, and to more than seven-and-a-half million by the year 2020.

A more recent estimate is available concerning the growth of the Coloured population in metropolitan areas. This suggests a metropolitan Coloured population of 2 200 000 by the year 2000 which means an increase of 796 820 in metropolitan areas since the 1980 census (Smit et al., 1983, 5-7).

In highly industrialised countries such as Britain and the United States, housing shortages affect mainly the minority groups in the population. No doubt this makes the problem a more manageable one. These countries have also introduced laws specifically designed to reduce racial disadvantages and discrimination in housing. (However, McKay (1977, 174) found that the private sector continued to apply discriminatory tactics despite the law and that no significant increase in housing opportunities for the racially disadvantaged had taken place.) Not only are South Africa's housing shortages more widespread, but the existence of its discriminatory laws adds greatly

to the frustration and discontent of its poorly housed and homeless people.

The "third world" nations (the Arab countries, Asia, the Latin Americas, and the developing countries on the African continent) have, like South Africa, a housing and squatter problem that affects the majority of their peoples.⁷ South Africa is thus by no means alone with its problem but it is perhaps unique in its paradoxical approach to problem resolution which involves, on the one hand, legalised discriminatory practices and, on the other, the provision of (mainly) State-funded housing to the disadvantaged.

From the foregoing it can be seen that squatting involves different issues according to where it occurs, who is squatting, and what response is made to the squatter situation.

Although squatting occurs in many different areas of the country, both rural and urban, Greater Cape Town was chosen as the place for the focus of this study since this is where the author lives and works.

The decision to select the Coloured people from those who are squatting was made because they are by far the more numerous of the squatters in this area and because of the many differences (legal, social, political, economic, and demographic) existing between the two groups (Black and Coloured) forming the greater part of the squatter population. The complexities of including both groups were considered to be beyond the resources available for this research.

Finally, in respect of responses to the squatter situation, a number of alternatives presented themselves. One could investigate the responses of the squatters themselves to their own situation. Or one could single out the responses of the authorities, of the business sector, the welfare sector, of Coloured people who are not squatters, of the White public in Greater Cape Town, and so on.

By preference, the author would have liked to hear the opinions, hopes, and fears of the squatters themselves. However, practical and ethical issues pointed away from this alternative. Practically, it would be a difficult matter for a White female to work single-handed in squatter settlements and still more difficult to locate many of the squatters who, for obvious

reasons, would wish to remain "invisible" to all but those whom they have reason to trust.

The question of trust is, in any case, a crucial variable since information and opinions elicited would be unreliable to the extent that distrust existed. Welsh (1979, 389-397) has described a number of difficulties encountered by research workers in African non-squatter communities.

Apart from the suspicion that the fieldworker was an informer or a municipal official, there was ambivalence among some educated respondents who felt that any attempt to study Africans was a means of providing justification for separate development . . . Several scholars report that they were given deliberately misleading information, or that they strongly suspected that it was misleading (Welsh, 1979, 396).

There is no reason to suppose that the situation is greatly different in Coloured communities. Western relates an interchange that took place when he visited a legally accommodated family in Heideveld, one of Cape Town's Coloured townships.

"Oh, you're writing your thesis . . . I see. Are you going to write about us here today?" This comment caused some laughter, but still I tried to explain what my study was about. "So you'll write it all down, and then the big boys overseas'll read it and that'll help," someone said. I expressed strong doubts about the likelihood of this happening. Another man said, "You be frank with us. What do you think about South Africa?" "I can't be frank with you now," I replied . . . "Well, we don't trust the White man, any White man" (1981, 311).

In a squatter settlement, people would have still more reason to be distrustful. Repeated personal contacts would have been needed for building relationships of trust but the time required for this was not available for the research. Such contact could, in any case, have resulted in raising unrealistic expectations among squatters. It might have engendered the hope that the research would in some way lead to improvements in their situation. Few would perhaps have believed this but among the less naïve a detrimental effect could also have been introduced in that their feeling of bitterness could only be increased on seeing themselves as the object of scrutiny in a project that would offer them nothing in return.

Contact with the squatters themselves was, therefore, ruled out. Instead, the author decided to investigate how responsive, or perhaps unresponsive, the environment outside the squatter communities might be towards Coloured squatting. In view of the practical constraints as to time and finance, a single sector, the voluntary welfare sector, was selected for this investigation.

To put the research into perspective, the following two Chapters will offer information on (i) the Coloured squatters and their circumstances and (ii) some responses to the Coloured squatter situation.

NOTESON CHAPTER 1

1. See DEFINITIONS, page 38.
2. Bantu who lives on the farm of a White person, has residential, ploughing, and grazing rights, and renders service according to agreement. (Author's translation.)
3. The Act is amended by the
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 24 of 1952,
General Law Amendment Act 62 of 1955,
Black Laws Amendment Act 76 of 1963,
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 92 of 1976,
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 72 of 1977,
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 33 of 1980.
4. Farmer who lives on the farm of another and works for a share of the harvest or for a wage. (Author's translation.)
5. In a large railway town, in a corner where two corrugated iron fences met, there stands a house. The whole is 6ft long, 4ft wide, and 5ft high. The fences form two sides of the house. The other two are sheets of iron. An old bedstead serves as roof, with bags and tarred cloth thrown across. A mother and five small children sleep there. (Author's translation.)
6. This applies to removals under the Group Areas Act effected in the Cape Province.
7. For details regarding residential circumstances and settlement policies in third world nations, see
J.E. Hardoy and D. Satterthwaite, Shelter: Need and Response,
Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1981;
United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries, New York: Praeger, 1981.

CHAPTER 2

THE COLOURED SQUATTERS AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES

Some squatters live in officially sanctioned settlements. That is, those whose shacks were erected before 1975 have been allocated numbers by the authorities and may remain where they are until they can be offered other accommodation. Their position has been described as one of "semi-legality" (Andrew & Japha, 1978, 32). All other shacks are unauthorised and may be demolished by the authorities if discovered. It is a well-known fact that many "illegal" squatters rise early in order to take down their shelters for the day to prevent detection, re-erecting them only at nightfall.

Venter describes the development of a typical squatter settlement as follows:-

They arrive in an area and simply set up house. Within days they are joined by others ... All the homeless really need is water. Building materials are readily available, either from former shanty-towns which have been razed or from a variety of touts who appear to make a good living selling sheets of beaten tin or rusty corrugated iron for a few cents. Those who cannot even afford that kind of outlay make do with packing cases brought in from the industrial areas of the city (1974, 33).

Other squatters do not cluster their shacks in this way but hide them, spaced well away from one another, among the sanddunes that surround Cape Town's White suburbs along the coast of the Peninsula.

There are also countless numbers of people squatting under lean-to structures and plastic awnings in the backyards of properties on already overcrowded housing estates or living-in with families in homes designed to accommodate fewer people than the number already in occupation. Ellis et al. write:-

It is difficult to obtain proof of this because of the householders' reluctance to reveal the true situation; they may face eviction if they are found to be living in highly overcrowded conditions in the estates. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that approximately half as many people again as they were designed for are living in the estates (1977, 14).

On the residual farmlands included in the area of Greater Cape Town there are Coloured people who have been given permission by the farmers to squat on

their land. However,

anyone living in a wood and iron or sub-standard structure is defined as a squatter, regardless of whether he or she is living there with the consent of the owner of the land or not (Andrew & Japha, 1978, 32).

Moreover, the lessee or owner of the land is liable for the costs of demolition and removal unless he can prove that he had opposed the squatting on his land (Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 92 of 1976, s.2). Hence, people now squatting on farms are generally those whose shacks were numbered in 1975.

The following factors are among those that have been named as reasons for Coloured squatting.

- (i) Approximately 25 per cent were said to have come from rural areas, particularly farm labourers in search of a better livelihood. In certain cases, their circumstances on the farms they had left had been worse than the conditions they encountered in the squatter settlements.
- (ii) Many low-income families had moved out of sub-economic housing schemes because they could not pay the rent.
- (iii) There were young married couples, on waiting lists for houses, who preferred to squat rather than live-in with parents or friends.
- (iv) In the planning for houses, no allowance had been made for population growth, with the result that the "excess" population was left no choice but to squat.
- (v) It was claimed that some people preferred squatting in relatively rural surroundings to living in a sub-economic Council flat surrounded by other sub-economic tenants, where they were sometimes exposed to violence. ("Decent families will not live there--they prefer their own shacks.") According to a survey of the Department of Community Development, 66 per cent of a group of squatters in an urban area had, at one time or another, lived in a Council house.
- (vi) There was also a small percentage of asocial persons among the squatters, as well as a number of Coloureds and Africans who lived together and consequently did not qualify for accommodation in the housing schemes.
- (vii) The problem was increased by the practice of certain employers who took on builders or servants from outlying areas. If the distance was not too great, the employees would return to their own homes at weekends but, after a lapse of time, their families would follow them to the urban centres and stay to squat (Kommissie van Onderzoek na Aangeleenthede Rakende die Kleurlingbevolkingsgroep, 1976, 221).

Circumstances in the townships must be bad indeed if certain people choose to squat, for squatting entails a peculiar set of problems. Nash (1976, 9) summarises these as follows:-

- no permanent abode;
- no legal right of habitation in their present place of residence, or only minimal legal rights to temporary residential facilities;
- consequently, a serious--sometimes even paralysing--sense of insecurity, apathy, defeat, hopelessness, bitterness;
- a state of "unhousability", that is, major lack of adjustment to conventional housing provisions and requirements;
- lack of access to the normal facilities and amenities of urban life: adequate shelter, sanitation, services, shops, health and education facilities and, often most crippling, lack of transport--which cuts children off from school and women from part-time charring work which would supplement the family income.

Despite these difficulties, many of the squatters are employed. Ellis et al. (1977, 8) cite employment figures from surveys conducted in 1975 by the Cape Town City and Divisional Councils among 3 794 squatter families in 16 squatter settlements. Of the economically active adults 79 per cent were in employment. Concerning the figure of 21 per cent for the unemployed, the authors commented:-

It is difficult to draw any inferences... both because it /the unemployment figure of 21 per cent/ does not allow for casual employment and informal sector economic activities, and because official unemployment figures for the Western Cape Region as a whole are unreliable, thus preventing comparisons with non-squatter communities.

Since casual work such as charring, gardening, and casual employment in dockyards and on building sites is not uncommon among those who are unskilled, the unemployment figure given here is probably an inflated one.

CHAPTER 3

SOME RESPONSES TO THE COLOURED SQUATTER SITUATION

The Role of Central and Local Authorities

And when it is said to them, "Cause not disorders in the earth:" they say, "Nay, rather do we set them right."
Is it not that they are themselves the authors of disorder?
But they perceive it not!

THE KORAN

The authority most closely involved with the phenomenon of squatting is the State. In 1975, more than 90 per cent of the Coloured population were accommodated in houses built by the State and administered by local authorities (Kommissie van Ondersoek na Aangeleenthede Rakende die Kleurlingbevolkingsgroep, 1976, 204).

Since most local authorities are not financially strong enough to provide adequate housing for residents in their areas, long-term advances are made available to them out of the National Housing Fund. Finance is also channelled through the local authorities to utility companies and welfare organisations for the purpose of erecting old-age homes, children's homes, youth hostels, centres for mentally and physically handicapped persons, and other special categories of need (Director-General of Community Development, July 1981, 21).

How this relates to squatting, and to some of the factors given earlier as reasons for squatting, becomes clear when one follows the explanation of Dewar and Watson. The State, they point out, is responsible for,

firstly, the provision of basic infrastructure such as transport, mass housing, nationalised industry, etc.; secondly, the creation of conditions for the "reproduction of labour power" through the provision of services such as education, health, training, welfare, etc., and thirdly, the creation of a "floor" to mass consumption through the provision of unemployment benefits, pensions, minimum wage levels etc. (1982, 3).

The policy that the bulk of State spending should support the stimulation of production implies that "housing" gets less in the Budget. Further constraints on funds voted for housing are created by,

firstly, the adoption of the principle that costs incurred by a township should be recovered from funds generated by that township, secondly, by the practice of building up large reserve funds on accounts such as community facilities, irrecoverable rental, etc., and thirdly, by the presence of top-heavy administrations (ibid.).

The result is that, whilst rents are high in the townships, the housing provided is often drab and monotonous. The immediate environment may be a barren plain with wind-swept sand and refuse. The community facilities and essential services are in some areas non-existent; in other areas, inadequate. There is little here to attract people.

On many of the sub-economic housing estates, gross overcrowding has made its contribution, together with many other factors, to occurrences of violence and crime. The statement that "decent families will not live there" takes on greater meaning when seen in this context.

In many cases, it is not only the high rentals that people cannot afford. The largest and most recently developed townships are situated far from the business and industrial centres and, consequently, from employment, thus adding greatly to people's transport costs. When such people fall into serious rent arrears, they are evicted, and can find no alternative accommodation.

Dewar and Ellis give recognition to the "indisputably good intentions" of the authorities concerned, but predict nevertheless that, failing a change in housing policy, "the housing problem for low-income groups will probably get worse rather than better in the next decade" (1979, preliminary page entitled In Brief).

Broadly, their criticisms are that

the policy has never been applied on a scale sufficient to catch up with population growth,

the policy being applied is not adequately geared to the problem of poverty, and

it has not succeeded in producing satisfactory total living environments for people in the housing estates (ibid.).

Their further comment is as relevant for squatting as it is for housing generally.

Housing /and therefore also squatting/ is not a "problem" which can be "solved". It is a complex, dynamic and ongoing developmental issue involving improvement (defined in developmental terms and not simply in terms of number of dwelling units) (Dewar & Ellis, 1979, 233).

The Role of the Coloured Community

Between the years 1951 and 1971, the Coloured people in the Cape Province were removed from both the common voters roll¹ and from the municipal roll,² i.e. they lost all say in national and local decision-making. Any protest they might wish to make concerning, for instance, their housing situation, has since needed to be channelled through Coloured management committees. The management committees, however, are rejected by most of the people because these are seen as tools in the system of separate development. They are also ineffective for structural reasons. Rees (1979, 7) has pointed out that the management committees

do not fit anywhere in the hierarchy of power ... there is just no allowance for them within the local authority procedures, and the system is thus doomed to failure.

Snitcher, commenting on this problem, said:-

Because of political factors, Coloureds have largely ignored the management committees. Without these committees, they have no voice at all in the decision-making process . . . What should be done is to form committees of interested citizens who can learn and thoroughly master the decision-making process . . . It must be emphasised that to cut off all ties with the councils by ignoring the management committees is counterproductive unless something else is substituted. Thus, either build up the committees or build up your own type of consultative body (1979, 42).

Since then, community-based organisations have grown in strength and numbers. They tackle, or they attempt to do so, the kinds of issues that are strictly

speaking the responsibility of the management committees. People in the Coloured communities are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for taking strong, co-operative action on their own behalf. Not only is there a score of trade unions, local and national, but discussions aimed at searching for a workable relationship between various community organisations and the trade unions have taken place (Grassroots, May 1982, 7).

The publication "Grassroots",³ a monthly newsletter for the Western Cape, devotes the greater part of its space to publicising the actions taken by community-based organisations and to the appeals these organisations make for increased membership and growing solidarity. The very existence of this newsletter (first published in 1980) indicates that many Coloured people saw a need for communicating their dissatisfactions to one another and for creating greater awareness of political issues, and their implications, in the daily lives of the people. The newsletter addresses itself particularly to the socio-economically and educationally disadvantaged within their own group. It aligns itself, however, with the plight of all South Africans who are not White. Whilst not representative of all Coloured opinion in the Western Cape, it certainly aims to influence that opinion.

In the year 1982 (the period covered by this research), there appeared in this newsletter several strongly-worded statements of disapproval and dismay on the subject of squatter removals (September 1982, 6; October 1982, 5). The subject of housing received a great deal of attention in all its editions. The related issues of transport services and transport costs also received frequent mention. Reports on the activities of tenants' associations made known that mass meetings were held and that delegations were to be sent to local rent offices to challenge the authorities on matters such as rent increases, evictions, maintenance, lack of facilities, and the like. Proposals were also being made for union between tenants' associations, the churches, the trade unions, youth and sporting clubs, and women's associations (Grassroots, December 1982, 10).

The Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), which was officially launched in 1981, by August 1982 represented twenty-one local civic bodies (Grassroots, August 1982, 1).

At the conclusion of that year, CAHAC reported that 1982 has not been as successful a year as had 1981 because the council was no longer becoming "excited" about community protests. Moreover, repeated disappointments in their dealings with local authorities had evidently diminished the morale within the action groups. The report stated:-

Working in the areas /has/ meant getting people together around a problem they felt strongly about. /But/ after a few months the work comes to a stop (Grassroots, December 1982, 7).

Nevertheless, the experience of having worked together was valued. CAHAC commented:-

These efforts in many cases saw people who had never been involved before gaining a new courage and becoming active in their local residents' association (ibid.).

The Coloured communities certainly addressed the issues of inadequate and insufficient housing and appear to have achieved, despite their relative powerlessness, some small victories in the process.

The Role of the Coloured Squatters

Given the powerlessness of the "legally" accommodated Coloured people, it is hard to envisage how those who are living as "illegal" squatters could take any action that might benefit their situation.

The principle of self-help has become almost an international slogan but successful self-help presupposes the availability of some resources and the approval (if not active supportive involvement) on the part of society's major institutions. Self-help also implies the existence of a feeling of security. No one who anticipates that his home will be taken away from him on the morrow can be expected to put much energy into improving it. Yet, astonishingly, the interior of many a squatter shack is neat, clean, and as comfortably furnished as circumstances will permit. Often, the shabby appearance of its exterior belies what is within.

Perhaps more than is the case with others, the squatter uses his own initiative, in the face of threats and censure, to provide for one of his most basic necessities: shelter. This initiative could be constructively

channelled into a co-operative upgrading venture with the participation of the authorities. However, as Martin has pointed out, co-operation from the side of the squatters can only be expected if the authorities

- (i) do not threaten the squatters;
- (ii) respect the rules and systems already existing in the squatter communities;
- (iii) are seen by the squatters as a genuine support system and not a corrective system; and
- (iv) are seen as a means of accelerating development along existing lines, i.e. not as the enforcement of a certain level of official standards (1976, 233).

Whether or not the people should be expected to participate actively in such ventures and, if so, how they should be involved, remain issues for debate. One point of view is that

welfare provision is a matter of strict obligation for those who hold resources and that those who are in need have strict moral claims on those better off in society. Their needs create the right to welfare and a duty on the part of the better endowed to grant welfare benefits to meet such needs (Plant et al., 1980, 52).

Such anti-capitalist thought in a capitalist society implies a militant approach, with the power structure as target and with the end-goal envisaged as basic institutional change.

This type of approach underlies the "social action" model in community work which is one of three models discussed and compared by Rothman (1980). The other two models dealt with by Rothman ("locality development" and "social planning")⁴ derive from a different philosophical perspective. They are based on the viewpoint that welfare rests on "charity, generosity, humanity"; that it is a matter of "giving", but not of "strict obligation" (Plant et al., 1980, 52). The State is, therefore, not held to be alone responsible but shares its welfare function with that of private effort. The eventual outcome of the use of these two models could conceivably be the same as that envisaged by the social actionists, but the goals that guide their application in practice are, respectively, (i) the development of people: their latent capacities, and their mutuality; and (ii) the

development of conditions and policies, and the provision of services, that maximise the people's social functioning. The "development" model strongly emphasises self-help, participation in small, problem-solving groups, and the linking of these groups into a network of communication. Participation in all aspects of a project (planning, implementation, and evaluation) is encouraged in order to develop the community's potential for ongoing action.

The mixing of all three models is not uncommon in practice, as Rothman (1980) points out. Aspects of each may be used according to the problems that are addressed and the organisations that are involved. However, this does not settle the debate. The choice rests ultimately on values, and each must determine his own. In practice, the community most needing the envisaged change rarely makes the choice: it is made on its behalf, either directly, by community work practitioners or their employing agencies, or indirectly, by élites who disseminate their ideological standpoints in the community.

Where squatters are to be involved as active participants in programmes for change, practitioners might well heed Van der Ross's warning that

there is a stratum of Coloured people who subconsciously reject attempts by middle-class Coloured and White people to influence their behaviour (1975, 146).

This was said in 1975. To-day the rejection is conscious in many circles. The manner in which programmes are introduced in communities is crucial to their acceptance, and squatters' willingness to participate will depend on how they evaluate the aims of a programme in relation to the immediacy of their needs. The following is an example of how the best intentions may go awry through faulty communication. Since a high birth-rate is one of the features in the cycle of poverty, a preventive programme of family-planning projects was launched in various communities. In commenting on these projects, Van der Ross said he had serious doubts that they were achieving anything like optimum success because the projects had been essentially middle-class orientated. "Overpopulation and the prospect of eventual food shortages", he said,

present no problem to those who already live in poverty. It causes no concern to tell them that in the year 2000 A.D. there will be food shortages when food shortage is a present way of life for them (1975, 143).

And, advocating the inclusion of community members in the delivery of such programmes, he added:-

/They/ would very likely not end up as just another group using the same techniques ... if you were to ask me how they might differ I would say that I do not know, but that this is the essence of the matter--we do not know, we cannot determine; the people themselves will (1975, 146).

A small, but most successful, housing project for Coloured squatters was started in 1977 by a voluntary welfare organisation with privately-funded support raised through Press publicity for the squatters' plight. The project, started as a self-help scheme with a nucleus of 27 "core houses" and provision for eventual extensions, has developed into a close-knit community in which "a deep sense of pride is present". This one-time squatter population now has an active residents' association which involves itself in the civic affairs of its own "village" and that of the township within which it is situated (CAFDA Annual Reports, 1980-1981, 11; 1981-1982, 7).

The Role of Religious Leaders

Religious leaders in South Africa have given their support to the homeless and the inadequately housed in direct ways--through the provision of social relief in times of crisis, and by their establishing and supporting various voluntary welfare projects. Lund and Van Harte (1980, 52) found that the churches were playing a growing role in the funding of community work in disadvantaged areas. Referring to interventions undertaken in relation to Black squatting, these authors say that "much of the credit must go to workers who were attached to church organisations" (1980, 43). The study also found that it was the churches that were taking the lead in providing advice-giving services and in creating greater public awareness (1980, 41). In particular, assertive use of the public media was made mainly by workers attached to the churches (1980, 51).

The following has been extracted from a statement written from within an Anglican context and cited by Nash (1976, 35):-

We need one or more work-groups who will develop a strong grasp of the peculiar and often complicated problems which beset squatters.

While having a deep missionary intent, these work-groups will have to concentrate on diakonia, that is service, of a specific and even technical nature. They will have to:-

learn to know and communicate with persons of influence in the squatter sphere;

discern what are the channels of opinion-forming and decision-making ... that need to receive the attention of those Christians who have the responsibilities of power--that is, voters; members of ratepayers' associations, city, divisional or provincial councils; leaders in commerce and industry.

In order to do this they will also have to lay a foundation of relationship with squatters themselves.

Apart from responding to squatting per se, the churches, with one or two exceptions, have expressed their dismay at the forced removal of people under the provisions of the Group Areas Act and have been outspoken on all aspects of racial discrimination.⁵

The Role of Business, Commerce, and Industry

Consideration of the role of business, commerce, and industry in the field of housing requires a separate and detailed study which could not be undertaken within the parameters of this research. A few points that are of particular relevance to the squatter situation have, however, been selected for inclusion.

Ellis et al. (1977, 69) suggest that informal-sector economic activities should be actively encouraged in the communities. Ideally, the people should then be assisted in developing a market for the goods they might manufacture or the services that they might be able to offer. At present such activity and trading is not approved, much less actively supported by established business organisations or by the authorities.

Dewar & Ellis have produced an analysis of low-income housing policy accompanied by a detailed section of recommendations to national and local authorities covering physical, legal, financial, administrative, and organisational responsibility. From the "financial" category of this section, two points that would be of immediate benefit to squatters are the following:-

a compulsory employee-employer contribution system, with the accumulating total invested in the name of the employee but with its use restricted to housing (1979, 220).

voluntary employer contributions to the housing problem--in particular ... employers to underwrite bonds provided by building societies and to provide bridging finance for schemes (ibid.).

There are a number of large business corporations that make considerable financial contributions to housing and other projects. One large Insurance Company announced in October 1982 that it would give R15m for the construction of homes for Coloured people in the Western Cape (Randall, Survey of Race Relations in S.A., 1983, 346).

Many companies provide ongoing financial assistance to voluntary welfare organisations and are regularly approached with requests for funds or donations in kind to support specific community projects.

The Urban Foundation⁶ administers funds, drawn primarily from the business sector, for projects concerning housing, education and training, employment practices, and community facilities. Its aim is to increase the involvement of individual companies from the private sector "through a vigorous policy of staff secondment to projects", and to support particularly those projects that offer employment opportunities to community members (Lee, 1980, 106,107). During the period 1 March 1977 to 31 March 1982, it had approved 55 separate housing projects (Randall, Survey of Race Relations in S.A., 1983, 583).

Lund and Van Harte have expressed concern regarding the role of the Urban Foundation. Whilst acknowledging that "the interest of private enterprise as represented in the Urban Foundation is a valuable addition to available resources", they were concerned that direct access to private

enterprise might become more difficult as a result of the "streamlining process" (1980, 6).

There are, however, more serious difficulties concerning privately-funded projects. Not all Coloured people are willing to accept the benefit of such arrangements. It is not uncommon for people to reject the "credibility" of a sponsor and hence the funds emanating from that source. In fact, considerable pressure is often brought to bear on members of the Coloured community to boycott facilities that are supported by "tainted" funds. Thus, the newsletter "Grassroots" published the following statements in its September 1982 issue:-

Rich companies get richer from the enormous profits they make by paying low wages to the workers. These workers struggle to survive with their low pay packets and as tenants live under terrible conditions. The interests of all rich companies ... are totally opposed to those of the expressed /scil. oppressed/ and exploited (page 7).

Most community organisations and trade unions in Cape Town have said that they will not be able to support an LRC /Legal Resources Centre/ receiving money from unacceptable sources (ibid.).

It is well known that certain community facilities are operating well below capacity, despite the critical need existing for the facilities in question. The message from those who support the sentiments expressed in the newsletter mentioned above is basically that participation on the part of business must come in the form of substantial wage increases.

The problem, however, runs deeper than this. Polarisation between Black (meaning other than White) and the White group is on the increase and is making it difficult for people to get together to discuss their concerns and work out interventive strategies. In the following quotations the word "Black" refers to people of all races who are not classified as "White" in South Africa.

Black consciousness /is/ causing people to be careful not to create the impression that they are joining forces with any organisation even remotely identifiable with White (and especially Afrikaner) consciousness (du Plessis, 1980, 37).

Black participants pointed out that associating with whites--even by attending the conference--endangered their credibility (Van der Merwe et al., 1980, 136).

Kontak members /white/, too, had lost credibility in their own community by their efforts to associate with blacks (Van der Merwe et al., 1980, 137).

In concluding this section, the following comment from Abrahamse is pertinent. Apart from the moral and social cost of apartheid, he said, the economic cost is "astronomic".

It is a luxury that not even a rich and mature nation could bear for any length of time in a competitive international environment; yet, we have endeavoured to do so for a generation (1977, 17).

The Role of Welfare

In previous sections, some aspects of welfare have already been mentioned with reference to particular actors in the broad welfare field. Here, further salient points concerning welfare will be raised.

Welfare services for Coloured people fall under the Department of Internal Affairs. This State department is concerned with welfare for the Indian (Asian) population also. Services for Whites and for Blacks are administered by other State departments. Voluntary welfare organisations serve one or more population groups according to the Constitution of each organisation. Both the State and the voluntary welfare sector provide specialised and institutional accommodation for those with special needs. The figures given below compare some of the specialised housing facilities for the Coloured group with those for the White group. When it is remembered that the White group is not quite twice the size of the Coloured group, the disparity will be obvious.

In 1981, there were for the Coloured aged in South Africa: one State Home, and 25 private registered Homes. In the same year, figures for the White aged were: four State Homes, and 422 private registered homes.⁷ For Coloured children, the following was provided: one State Home with accommodation for 174 children, and 23 private registered Homes with

accommodation for 1 803 children. For White children, there were seven State Places of Safety and Detention with accommodation for 1 375 children, and 80 private registered children's Homes with accommodation for 5 575 children.⁸

Attempts are being made, however, to bridge these differences. In the 1982/1983 budget, amounts allocated for Coloured and White aged were respectively R104 660 600 and R295 761 600.⁹ Allocations for Coloured and White children were respectively R84 467 100 and R64 497 300.¹⁰ Thus, the allocation for Coloured aged was little more than one-third of that for White aged whilst, for Coloured children, it was nearly one-third greater. In this context, it is important to remember that, with their lower average standard of living, life expectancy at birth for those in the Coloured group is less than for those in the White group (hence, there are proportionately fewer aged in the Coloured population), whereas, with a high birth-rate, the Coloured population has proportionately more children.

Voluntary bodies requiring State subsidisation for their welfare activities must register as welfare organisations under the National Welfare Act 100 of 1978. They need also to register as fund-raising organisations under the Fund-Raising Act 107 of 1978.¹¹

The State departments have recently urged voluntary welfare agencies to undertake community work or, if already so engaged, to extend their community work activities. The Health Department of the Cape Town City Council has established a Community Liaison Office which employs full-time community social workers. It is not yet clear what parameters of practice are envisaged by the State for community work activities. When considered in relation to a report issued in 1981 by the Director-General of the State Department of Community Development, in which "progress" is reported in the "resettlement of disqualified¹² persons" (page 23), the paradox that haunts welfare in South Africa seems destined to remain.

In one country after another community development programs have been projected on a national scale and have been conceived as massive, integrated efforts designed to mobilize resources at the local level and to develop the nation's human resources by stimulating self-help and providing opportunities for responsible participation in development activities (Ware, 1967, 15).

The author has reason to believe that the South African authorities are engaged in national development planning along such lines as those described above but wonders how some of the underlying principles within that planning will be translated into practice. The concept of "responsible participation" for instance could be understood to mean "enabling individuals and groups to share in the shaping of public decisions that affect their lives", or it could be viewed as "a means of achieving popular support for policies and programs that have already been decided upon by some higher authority" (Pre-Conference Working Party to the 13th International Conference of Social Work, 1966, 23).

That different countries tend to apply the same development model in essentially different ways is illustrated by the following observation:-

Only a handful of nations show signs of giving serious attention to the Habitat Recommendations¹³ they officially endorsed at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements. Most claimed to, but have picked on only those Recommendations that serve their political ends (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1981, 268).

The working Party which is referred to above suggested that there were certain common characteristics in developing communities. Although not all are applicable to Coloured squatter communities, the following do prevail: the population is increasing out of proportion to employment opportunities; there is a high proportion of young people; the level of living is generally low; and the resources (financial, personnel, and other) are low (1966, 18).

For such communities, the Working Party felt, "the main emphasis should be placed on developmental types of social welfare programs". In the more developed communities, they suggested, "more emphasis can be given to the 'well-being' of the individual citizen", and "instead of mass problems, there will be problems of minorities and special disadvantaged groups"(1966, 18-19).

With regard to Cape Town's Coloured squatters, this raises the question of the form social welfare intervention could most appropriately take. Although the squatters' living conditions are in many respects of a

"developing" nature, the life-style of the Coloured people, particularly in the urban centres, is a Western one, as is their involvement in the country's economy. Thus, these communities can be described as both "developed" and "developing". The implications for welfare are that two levels of intervention are required simultaneously, i.e. the broader one of development planning (incorporating the use of community work strategies) and the narrower, more specialised level of service-rendering which falls, traditionally, within the ambit of the casework and groupwork methods.

After a decade or more of declining interest in community work, social workers in Cape Town have begun to turn their attention again to this method. South African social work has reflected the trends that have characterised social work in Britain and the United States¹⁴ and, as a result, the intrapsychic and interpersonal functioning of individuals has received greater attention than did the environmental influences impinging on human functioning. A comment that social workers had come to perceive their clients as the "product of unconscious impulses", and "needing restoration to an unchanged environment by self-mastery" (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965, 325), is apposite to much of the social work that was done in Cape Town during the past decade. It has been said that this trend can largely be ascribed to social work's struggle to gain recognition as a profession and its consequent preoccupation with status and technique, but it seems to the author that certain events, trends, and philosophical perspectives occur inevitably in a synchronised systemic way, and that social work, being rooted in Western culture, could not but reflect the Western philosophy of its time. If then, the Weltanschauung changes, as it now does, shifting its focus from the "inner" to the "outer", social work will reflect this trend by emphasising societal rather than individual (or in addition to individual) issues. Perhaps a better balance, a true integration of perspectives rather than a mere integration of methods, will eventuate--but at present there is little sign of this.

NOTES

ON CHAPTER 3

1. In terms of the Separate Representation of Voters Act 46 of 1951, the names of Coloured voters were removed from the common voters' roll and provision was made for male Coloured voters to elect four Whites as Coloured representatives in the House of Assembly and two Whites as Coloured representatives in the Cape Provincial Council. In addition, provision was made for the nomination of one White Senator to represent all non-White interests. The separate representation of Coloured voters by Whites was brought to an end by the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act 50 of 1968. (Kommissie van Onderzoek na Aangeleenthede Rakende die Kleurlingbevolkingsgroep, 1976, 338).
2. In terms of the (Cape) Local Authorities Ordinance 19 of 1971, the ordinary municipal voters' rolls were closed to Coloured persons except that those already enrolled could remain on the lists until they qualified for registration on the voters' roll of a local management committee in a Coloured group area (ibid.).
3. "Grassroots" is a non-profit community newsletter issued by Grassroots Publication, Cape Town.
4. The three "models" are compared in J. Rothman: "Three Models of Community Organization Practice, their Mixing and Phasing" in F.M. Cox et al. (eds.), Strategies of Community Organization. Itasca, Illinois: Peacock Publishers, 1980, pp. 25-45. The line of thought pursued here should, however, not be ascribed to Rothman.
5. See, for instance, D. Tutu: "The Church of the Province of South Africa" in H. van der Merwe et al. (eds.), Towards an Open Society in South Africa, Cape Town: David Philip, 1980, 15-22;
E. Jacobs: "The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk" in H. van der Merwe et al. (eds.), Towards an Open Society in South Africa, Cape Town: David Philip, 1980, 23-30;
L. Gordon (ed.): Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1980, 58-65; and
P. Randall (ed.): Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1983, 560-565.
6. The Urban Foundation was established in 1976 for the purpose of promoting and co-ordinating the involvement of the private sector in improving the quality of life in "non-White" communities (Van der Merwe et al., 1980, 102).
7. Information supplied by the Department of Health and Welfare and the Department of Internal Affairs and cited in P. Randall (ed.), Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1983, 551.

8. This information was derived from the source mentioned above, page 550.
9. Information supplied by the Department of Health and Welfare and the Department of Internal Affairs and cited in P. Randall (ed.), Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1983, 551.
10. This information was derived from the source mentioned above, page 550.
11. Churches are exempted from these requirements.
12. A "disqualified" person is someone who, in terms of the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950, is classified as belonging to a population group other than that for which an area is proclaimed under the provisions of the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966. Such a person may not own or occupy property in the proclaimed area.
13. The Recommendations were approved by representatives from 132 nations at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlement held at Vancouver in June 1976. Hardoy and Satterthwaite write that the Recommendations included the following:

The need for each nation to establish a comprehensive national settlements policy linked to socioeconomic development policy; increased public control of land use; increased support for the construction sector (including the "informal" sector); priority to the provision of safe drinking water and hygienic disposal of household and human wastes for the whole population; and new institutions at "national, ministerial and other appropriate levels of government" to formulate and implement the policy with public participation as an indispensable element in this at national, regional and local levels (1981, 1-2).
14. For detail concerning historical trends in social work see H.L. Wilensky & C.N. Lebeaux: Industrial Society and Social Welfare, New York: The Free Press, 1965; and K. Woodroffe: From Charity to Social Work, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.

CHAPTER 4

DEFINITIONS

Cape Town

"Cape Town" as used in this study means Greater Cape Town, defined as the statutory area of Cape Town and its conurbation.¹ This area includes the magisterial districts of The Cape, Wynberg, Simonstown, Bellville, Goodwood, and Kuilsriver.²

Voluntary Welfare Agencies

Before defining voluntary welfare agencies and specifying which of these were included in the research, consideration will be given briefly to the roots of voluntary welfare in Cape Town and its present place in the welfare structure.

The coming of the White colonists at the Cape brought with it the bases for the welfare structure we have to-day. Their arrival however, did not bring the beginning of welfare itself. Among the indigenous people there existed a network of community support akin to that described by Kropotkin in 1914 (ed.: Avrich, 1972). In the older communities there remains among the African people a pattern of "habits and customs of mutual aid and support" (Avrich, 1972, 223) which exists also on an informal basis among the Coloured people. Because immigrant culture in time dominated traditional welfare patterns, this form of mutual aid is now virtually unrecognised in the welfare system.

In South Africa, voluntary and statutory welfare services exist side by side interdependently. The State relies on voluntary welfare agencies to do much of the welfare work and, in turn, subsidises the agencies, thereby enabling them to provide service of better quality. Emphasis is placed on the partnership between the State and the voluntary organisations in the provision of welfare.

At the Cape, under Dutch rule, voluntary welfare effort had religious origins and religious links.

In 1655 the first congregation of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) was formed in Cape Town, no other church being permitted until 1780 when the Lutheran Church established itself. As soon as it started work at the Cape, the Dutch Reformed Church took over from the Company the administration of poor relief, and for more than a century was alone responsible for social services (Helm, 1962, 50).

Regarding Catholicism at the early Cape, Helm says:-

In 1685 Governor Simon van der Stel granted to six Jesuit priests a site from which to conduct astronomical observations ... They were not permitted by the Dutch Administration to say Mass, but they undertook welfare duties such as visiting the sick (1962, 51).

However, under British régime³,

several religious denominations established themselves in South Africa . . . /and, together with/ others that followed, soon played their part along with the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran churches in developing voluntary welfare services in Cape Town (Helm, 1962, 50-51).

At the time of Helm's researches in Cape Town (1958 - 1962) some 30 Cape Town agencies, founded by religious bodies in the nineteenth century, were still operating in the welfare fields into which they had first ventured.⁴ None of these, when founded, had stated either "squatting" or "housing" as a field in which they intended to work but several had established Homes for persons in categories of special need, and there were some whose primary task was to "combat poverty, social isolation, and the need for shelter" (1962, 20, 51-53).

The present position of voluntary welfare agencies in the overall welfare structure is governed by three Acts of Parliament.⁵ The National Welfare Act makes provision for a South African Welfare Council (whose function it is to advise the government on matters pertaining to welfare), and for the establishment of Regional Welfare Boards which are required, inter alia, to investigate regional social problems and to "plan and propose measures for the solution thereof" (s.11). Hence, welfare policy and planning are

governed by this Act. The Act further provides for the registration of voluntary organisations which render social welfare services.

The Social and Associated Workers Act deals with requirements for the training of social workers. In terms of this Act, only registered social workers may practice the profession.

The Fund-Raising Act inter alia prohibits the collection of contributions except with authority granted under the Act. Apart from the provision that temporary authority may be granted, the Act provides for the registration of organisations as fund-raising bodies. Voluntary welfare organisations are thus registered under this Act and those offering social welfare services and wishing to avail themselves of State subsidisation must in addition register under the National Welfare Act.

The provisions of the Fund-Raising Act do not apply to churches provided that their contributions are

collected by or on behalf of a religious body during a religious service or in terms of the written authority of such body and exclusively for the purpose of promoting the religious work of such body (s. 33).

Apart from the services provided by voluntary organisations and those provided directly by the State through its departments created for that purpose, local authorities employ a few social workers (for example those in the Community Liaison Office of the Cape Town City Council's Health Department), and Provincial authorities provide for the community's health needs in general hospitals, specialised hospitals, and through Day Hospital services.

To define voluntary welfare agencies one must distinguish between voluntary and non-voluntary; welfare and non-welfare. These categories are not discrete and the boundaries decided upon must therefore remain somewhat vague in spite of painstaking attempts at definition. Two works have been useful here, namely A Cape Town Directory of Social Welfare (Helm, 1959) and The Future of Voluntary Organisations (Wolfenden Committee, 1978). In the Directory, Helm had included all bodies registered under the then Welfare Organisations Act together with those exempted from registration under the

Act but rendering services similar to those of the registered bodies. That is, included were unregistered church welfare organisations, community and associational bodies, clubs and recreational activities related to the welfare field. The concept employed of a social welfare agency was "neither so wide as to include all educative and ameliorative endeavour, nor so narrow as to take in only social work of a professional nature" (1959, 11). The term "voluntary", Helm said, "is not really appropriate as by no means all their work is volunteered" (ibid.).

It is perhaps useful in defining the boundaries of voluntary welfare organisations to indicate what lies beyond them. The Wolfenden Committee described four social systems which together provide the means for meeting social needs. Three of these systems lie beyond the boundaries of the term "voluntary" as it is used here. The first of these is the informal system comprising family, friends, and neighbours, and providing individual care, emotional support, advice, and material assistance. Secondly, services such as private schooling, commercial pension schemes, and a range of other private and professional services are offered by the commercial system to those who can afford to pay for them. The third, the statutory system, offers a variety of welfare services through National, Provincial, and local government agencies. The role of the voluntary system, according to the Committee, is to interrelate constructively with the other three and to provide an extension of their services by adding to them, both quantitatively and qualitatively, through the provision of voluntary service. The voluntary system should, in addition, establish new services to meet the social needs that attract no response from the other systems and it should act as independent critic or pressure group, thus giving impetus to the other systems for creating new services and bringing about changes in existing ones (1978, 22-29).

In deciding upon the category of agencies to be included in the research, the assumption was made that virtually all voluntary agencies would need outside funding and would, therefore, be registered under the Fund-Raising Act and, in many cases, also under the National Welfare Act. Hence, if there existed any organisations that were financed entirely from within, these were excluded. Churches also were excluded.

From the registered bodies, those offering social welfare services were finally selected for the research. That is, excluded from this study were fund-raising organisations whose main objectives could be classified under "health", "education", "culture", or "sport", and other categories of organisations such as Animal Welfare Societies, Sea Rescue Institutes, and the like.

The concept "social welfare" was used in the sense in which Helm had used it, thus, agencies were included irrespective of whether they employed social workers.

For the purpose of the present study then, the term "voluntary welfare agencies" refers to organisations operating in the area of Greater Cape Town which are registered under both the Fund-Raising Act and the National Welfare Act or under the Fund-Raising Act only, provided that, in the case of this last category, they offer social welfare services.

Coloured

The reasons for selecting Coloured squatting have already been given and brief mention has been made of the origins of the Coloured people (Chapter 1). A definition of the term "Coloured" can, however, not be given. The people to whom this term refers are not really a distinct race and are defined, for statutory purposes, as not belonging to either the White or the Black group.⁶ To complicate the matter, people otherwise classified as "White" or "Black" or classified in some other way, may be classified as "Coloured" under the Group Areas Act.⁷ Thus, a White man who is married to or lives with a Coloured woman is classified as "Coloured", as is a woman of any racial group who is married to or lives with a Coloured man.

On the other hand, a woman otherwise classified as "Coloured", may be classified as "Black" under the Group Areas Act if she is married to or lives with a Black man.

Many people living in "mixed" relationships are squatting to escape the constraints of the Group Areas Act.

Since being classified as "Coloured" implies that one is subject to a host of restrictions and disadvantages, the term carries negative overtones for

the people so described. For this reason, some Coloured people refer to themselves as "so-called Coloured" whilst others prefer to be called "Black", viewing themselves as closer to the Black peoples of South Africa with whom they are in sympathy for political reasons. But to have used here the word "Black" would have confused the whole issue of squatting and housing since it is, in the case of the Coloured people, quite different from that of other groups. Similarly, the term "non-White" would have been confusing, apart from the fact that this term is offensive to many.

In this study, agencies are on occasion described as "Coloured" or "non-Coloured". This has been done merely as a form of shorthand to avoid excessive repetition of such phrases as "agencies serving the Coloured group". An organisation referred to as a "Coloured" agency is not necessarily one that serves only Coloured clients. The term here is meant to convey that the agency included Coloured people among its clientele. An agency referred to as "non-Coloured" may be serving one, or more than one population group but, in any case, not the Coloured group.

African

For use in the questionnaire, the term "African" was preferred to "Black" since the first is the less ambiguous. However, in the text of the thesis, the two have been used interchangeably, especially because some of the quotations that were incorporated contained the term "Black", with the intended meaning of "African". Where a quotation is used which contains the word "Black" in the sense of "non-White", an explanation has been given of the intended meaning in that particular case.

The word "African" is generally considered non-offensive, although not favoured by all ("Black" is the more popular term). There are some White people who, because they experience themselves as belonging to Africa, and therefore as African, feel that the word should not be used exclusively to describe the aboriginal peoples of the African continent. However, it is used here in that sense.

White

A White person is one whose appearance is obviously white and who is generally accepted as White. This term too is not liked by all whom it describes.

Squatter

The term "squatter" as used in the research refers to people living in recognised squatter communities or living where they have no legal right to be.⁸ This definition covers the following living circumstances:-

- Living-in on overcrowded premises,⁹
- living in backyards,¹⁰
- living in emergency camps,¹¹
- living in numbered shacks in places other than emergency camps,¹²
- living in illegal squatter settlements or being otherwise illegally accommodated in any manner other than the above.

NOTES

ON CHAPTER 4

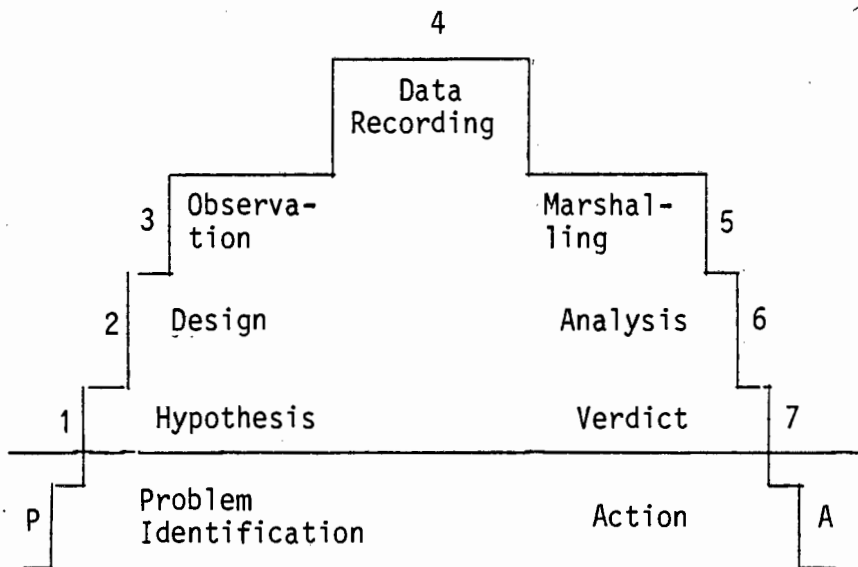
1. The author is indebted to her supervisor for the following distinctions between Cape Town, Greater Cape Town, and the Cape Peninsula: Cape Town is a local government unit. The name has varied historically but has always had a legal definition. Greater Cape Town means the conurbation that includes the legal area of Cape Town. Cape Peninsula is a strictly geographical description and means the area of land that is nearly an island and joins the mainland at the beginning of the Cape Flats.
2. For boundaries of the six magisterial districts, the reader is referred to Republic of South Africa (1982), South Africa 1:250 000 topographical sheet 3318. Cape Town (fifth edition).
3. The British were in temporary occupation at the Cape between 1795 and 1803, and permanently from 1806 until 1910.
4. Helm draws her readers' attention to the fact that secular welfare agencies founded in the nineteenth century probably had fewer chances of survival than those connected with religious denominations well-established in other parts of the world. The role of religious bodies in voluntary welfare at that time has possibly been over-estimated "because the work at that time of agencies with secular management is to-day unknown" (1962, 53).
5. The National Welfare Act 100 of 1978, the Social and Associated Workers Act 110 of 1978, and the Fund-Raising Act 107 of 1978.
6. Population Registration Act 30 of 1950.
7. Group Areas Act 36 of 1966.
8. The author's supervisor provided this definition to cover the various categories of "squatting" she wished to include in the research.
9. People who are living-in unofficially as sub-tenants in overcrowded homes are not "squatters" in the strictly legal sense. They have been included here for the reason that they are illegally accommodated, and because they would presumably have to squat were it not for the fact that they are able to find shelter in this way. They fall under the provisions of the Slums Act 53 of 1934 which specifies inter alia minimum standards in respect of air and floor space in bedrooms, segregation of sexes according to age, availability of cooking facilities, and number of toilets provided, relative to number of occupants in the dwelling (Jammie, 1982, 610-611).

10. Those who erect or occupy unauthorised shelters in backyards fall under legislation that amends the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 which includes a provision preventing the erection or occupation of unauthorised buildings or structures (Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act 92 of 1976).
11. Emergency camps may be established for the accommodation of homeless persons under section 6 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act as amended by Act 92 of 1976. Such camps provide authorised occupation of a temporary nature, that is, no permanent legal right of habitation.
12. These people too have only temporary authorisation to remain in their shacks. Andrew and Japha describe their position as one of "semi-legality" (1978, 32).

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

The content of this Chapter is organised in accordance with the Steps in the Comprehensive Pattern of Scientific Research described by Batson (1983a). Since these steps, notwithstanding some overlap among them, represent the sequential tasks in the research process, they are used here as a framework to give an account of the way in which this research was conducted.



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Following Batson's illustration reproduced above, steps 1 to 3 and the preliminary step of "problem identification" represent the phases during which the research was designed. At each point of the "upward journey" procedural roads diverged, presenting a range of alternative routes by which step 4 could have been attained. Step 4 was in itself the culmination of the previous activities, open to variation in technique but not in research design. What followed thereafter depended upon the recorded data. The organisation of what was "found", its analysis, and the conclusions drawn, were governed by decisions made during the "upward" phases. The exception to this is the "action" phase which may be thought of as the first "tread" of a new "stair" upon which one might base a further research project or a sequence of interventive strategies.

Problem Identification

As a social worker in Cape Town, one can hardly be unconcerned about its squatter population. Certain population groups have fewer rights and privileges than others and are, on account of their environmental circumstances, more "at risk" (physically, emotionally, and intellectually). The squatters are the most vulnerable of these. Transgressors of a law made and administered by those who have no need to squat, lacking the security of a permanent abode, and living without facilities that modern man considers essential for a "normal" lifestyle, they could be expected to attract the services of those whose work is a response to the welfare needs of the city's inhabitants.

If squatters were not already drawn from the lower socio-economic stratum of the population, they would be likely to drift into that stratum through differential opportunities. Educational and employment opportunities are optimally used by those whose environment is conducive to the acquisition of knowledge and marketable skills. Study, regular attendance at classes and on the job, are facilitated by the availability of private space, adequate lighting, adequate rest, adequate nutrition, availability of transport, and some feeling of stability in one's life. Few if any of these are features of a squatter's daily existence.

A study conducted during 1963-1965 in four magisterial districts of Cape Town found the incidence of psychiatric illness among Coloured persons in the lowest social classes to be three times as much as in the highest social class. These proportions held for all types of mental illness. The study also revealed that psychiatric disturbance occurred in 59% of persons who lived in overcrowded conditions compared to 51% among those who did not. Among persons who had frequently changed their abode 45% were found to be suffering from psychiatric disturbance compared to 38% among others (Gillis et al., 1965, 2).

Drinking patterns too were associated with living circumstances. Three-quarters of addictive drinkers were living in overcrowded conditions compared to one-quarter of the social drinkers (Gillis et al., 1965, 5).

Cilliers (1979, 266) writes that

drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and acts of violence such as assaults make up the bulk of the crimes other than technical offences among Coloured persons. Next to these, theft is the most important type of offence. These crimes are all ... indicative of a low level of sensitivity to feelings of human worth and dignity.

This is related, Cilliers further suggests, to the marginality of the Coloureds' positions in the society. Yet, on the periphery of this "marginal" group are the squatters; more marginal still because effectively more isolated from the society as a whole. Not legally ratepayers or tenants, they are simply supposed not to be wherever it is that they are.

Brindley (1979, *passim*) discusses the effects of crowding and lack of privacy on marriage and family life and on personality development in the childhood years. She concludes that such environmental circumstances contain sources of stress contributing to dysfunctional patterns in family relationships.

In a study which compared 75 "problem" families with 75 "non-problem" families, Ramphal (1983, 162,163) found a disproportionately large number of problem families living in unsatisfactory housing conditions. She noted also that parents of "problem" children were relatively more burdened with physical ailments than were other parents. Since ill-health is positively associated with poor social conditions, lack of adequate washing facilities and sanitation, lack of dry and draught-free shelter, and lack of drying facilities, one may expect the squatter population to be particularly vulnerable to physical ailments.

Kotze studied social adjustment and scholastic performance among children aged six to eight years in three Coloured communities: an "economic" community in Cape Town, a transit camp (officially recognised squatter camp) in Cape Town, and a rural community outside the Cape Town area. He found the transit-camp community to be the "most deprived", the rural community to be "deprived", and the "economic" community to be "less deprived". Children from the transit camp scored very much lower on indicators of "good social adjustment" and "ability to solve everyday problems" than did the other children. More children in this age group from the rural community than those from the transit camp had failed once at school but more children

from the transit camp had failed twice at school (1979, 225-234). Perhaps this pattern was related to their low "adjustment ability".

In a summary of social researches in the field of housing, Hole (1972, 40) mentions in relation to unsatisfactory housing such factors as high incidence of respiratory disease among infants and poor performance among school-going children on school tests.

Apart from the disadvantages of inadequate housing, Ellis et al. (1977, 52) emphasise that

the real problem for many of the squatters is the insecurity which permeates their living conditions--the threat of having homes demolished or having to move yet again to a new area.

Despite such evidence of exceptional need, the author was not aware of any special attention being given by the voluntary welfare system to this client group. Yet, Demers (1962, 49) described housing as a "basic social factor". Burke (1981, 150) said of housing: "above all, it is a fundamental human need" and added: "without adequate shelter the business of human life cannot really be adequately conducted". Thursz and Vigilante (1975, 20) remind us that

Dr. Eveline M. Burns, the world renowned social welfare economist ... suggested that housing is a major indicator of human need and a focus for the provision of social services.

It is, therefore, not surprising to find Friedlander (1968, 500) saying that "social welfare is deeply concerned with adequate housing".

Although the "problem" has been identified here by means of literary sources, the stage of "problem identification" in Batson's schema (1983a) refers to an action phase. That is, the schema suggests social work practice (alerting one as it does to social needs) as the basis for the development of a hypothesis and subsequent strategies for further action. Batson (1983c) has said that

where research is motivated from the field of action, the motivation arises in the first place from the supposition that there is a practical problem. When it is decided to investigate that supposition scientifically, the practical problem becomes translated and

sometimes even transformed into a research hypothesis stated interrogatively.

Such a hypothesis has been developed here, although not from an action base.

Hypothesis

On the basis of the foregoing, the following assumptions were made about Coloured squatters in Greater Cape Town:-

They are among the poorest of the Coloured people.

They are among the least adequately housed of the Coloured people.

They are subject to the risks and stresses generally associated with poverty and grossly inadequate housing.

Because of their illegal position they are living in a state of high insecurity.

The further assumption was made that Coloured squatting is an appropriate field of concern for the welfare system including the voluntary sector.

Ripple (1960, 37) differentiates assumptions and hypotheses as follows. While both are propositions,

an assumption is a statement which one accepts as being "true" /for the purpose of the investigation/. A hypothesis is a conjecture regarding the relationship among specified phenomena which is not asserted to be "true"; the purpose of the investigation is to determine its credibility.

With regard to hypotheses framed in a question, she further says that questions "rarely state a point of view, and a point of view of some kind is essential if the subsequent data collection is to be focussed". But such scientific rigor negates much that is done in social work research. As Polansky says: "the goal of much current research is really to answer the question, 'Is there a relationship here at all?'" (1960, 156). Helmstadter too accepts that a hypothesis can be cast in the form of a question, provided, he adds, that it can be refuted by evidence (1970, 17).

The broad questions guiding this research are:-

- (a) To what extent were voluntary welfare agencies in Greater Cape Town involved during 1982 in work concerning Coloured squatting, and
- (b) What opinions are held by the agencies concerning aspects of intervention in Coloured squatting?

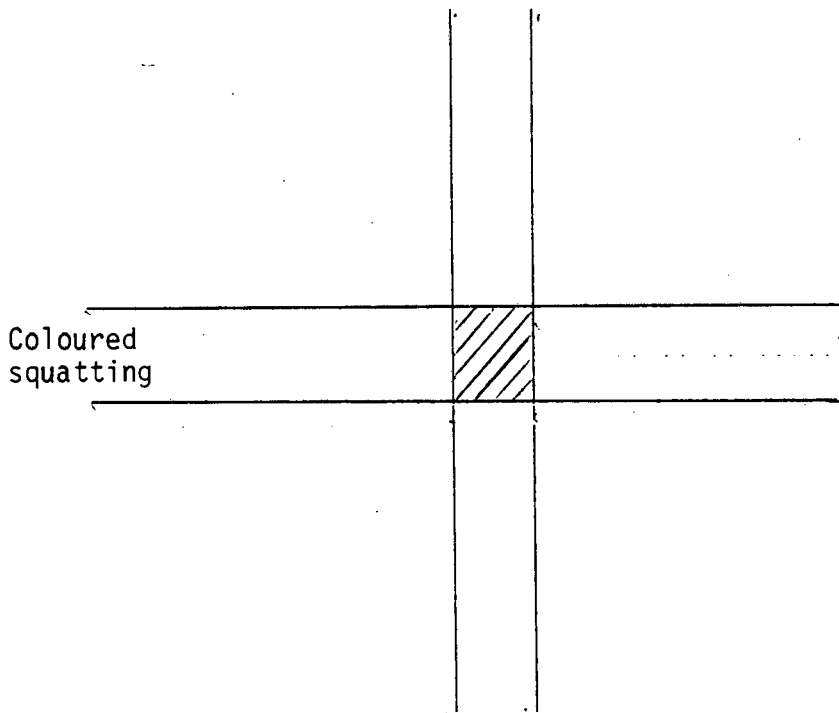
These questions do not presuppose a relationship. They cannot be translated into meaningful statements nor can they be refuted by evidence derived from this research. The results obtained can, however, be tested by anyone who repeats the procedures followed here.

Design

Design rests on the research method employed and this, in turn, needs to be related to the objectives of the research. Batson's listing of social work research methods which, he points out, "invites some culling", contains more than fifty "methods" one might choose from (1983b). Two divergent yet interconnected research emphases, however, (the descriptive and the explanatory) determine the general approach to be used. Forcese and Richer (1973, 79) say "descriptive enquiry has as its object the exploration and clarification of some phenomena where accurate information is lacking". Frequently, its findings provide material for explanatory research in which one's object is to "test specifically hypothesised relationships among variables" with the intention of generalising from the research. As mentioned, this study of agency responses to Coloured squatting does not search for such explanation of relationships. The "descriptive" approach was, therefore, used.

Earlier Chapters in this thesis have outlined squatting, Coloured squatting, some responses to Coloured squatting, and the development and place of voluntary welfare agencies in Greater Cape Town. No specific relationship between Coloured squatting and voluntary welfare agencies may, however, be assumed to exist. Hence, the purpose of the research is to investigate whether a relationship exists and, if it does, to discover something of what it contains. The area of investigation lies at an intersection,¹ thus:-

Voluntary welfare agencies
in Greater Cape Town



Such a research goal would normally be approached by a suitable case-study or survey design. However, no individual agencies could be identified as cases since it was not known a priori which agencies were working in the field of Coloured squatting. In any event, single case studies on this topic would not have been acceptable for various reasons. The case-study method was therefore ruled out and the research designed as a survey. The method employed came close to Finestone and Kahn's (1975, 62) specification of descriptive surveys. That is, the purpose was to describe certain characteristics of voluntary welfare agencies in Cape Town with reference to Coloured squatting; no causal relationships were suggested; simultaneous consideration was given to several variables for more precise description; questionnaires were used for data gathering, and the data were gathered from a representative sample. This last point requires elaboration. It will be dealt with more fully at the end of this section on "design" after the chosen universe has been described.

To implement the design it was decided to approach, by means of a mailed questionnaire, all Cape Town agencies registered under both the National Welfare Act and the Fund-Raising Act plus such of those registered under the latter only as offered social welfare services. The Department of Health and Welfare was asked for permission to take notes from the index there available and this permission was kindly granted.²

Although the subject of the research concerned responses to Coloured squatting, no distinction was made between organisations on the basis of population groups served as it was felt that certain opinions to be asked for in the questionnaire could be given by any welfare organisation.

For many agencies little interest in or knowledge about Coloured squatting might well be assumed. They would thus be unlikely to respond to questions on the subject. Nevertheless, no assumption was made about the likelihood of any agency's response. Instead, the questionnaire was drawn up in such a way that any response, however minimal, or no response at all, was made to appear entirely acceptable.

Organisations not classified by the Department as offering "social welfare services" but classified under the categories of "health", "education", "culture", "sport", and "other" were not included despite the possibility that they might have had an interest in the subject of the research. The author had initially wished to include them (as well as churches and other bodies that might be concerned with Coloured squatting), but the need for restraint in designing the scope for the research determined otherwise.³

To complete the index, the State Departments of Co-operation and Development and of Internal Affairs were asked for information about organisations that were listed in their records but not in those of the Department of Health and Welfare. This information was kindly supplied by mail. There were not many such organisations since those registered only under the Fund-Raising Act were in all cases present in the records of the Department of Health and Welfare.

The completed index contained a record of 288 voluntary organisations classified as offering social welfare services as at 30 September, 1982. Of these, three could not be approached as their addresses were not on record and could not be traced. Hence, 285 questionnaires were eventually posted.

Returning to the matter of the sample, the following explanation is offered concerning its status:-

The universe of identifiable social-work agencies numbered 285. Restricting the administration of the questionnaire to a sample was not considered desirable. The economy effected would have been modest and the sacrifice of data serious. The questionnaire was therefore, in principle and almost certainly in virtual fact, administered to the total universe, i.e. was administered as a census. The response, in terms of the administered questionnaire, was a self-selected sample, and hence non-representative of the original universe. It was however deliberately invited as constituting a new universe comprising the respondent agencies, and has been so interpreted in the analysis and conclusions. On the two different levels involved, the survey thus was, and was not, a "sample survey". (This procedure would, of course, have been a quibble but for the fact that the questionnaire had been deliberately designed so as to invite the agencies to classify themselves while preserving the anonymity considered vital to the research.) (Batson, 1983d).

Particulars of the above-mentioned aspect of questionnaire design are given in Chapter 6.

Observation

The decision to use a questionnaire was determined by the number of agencies to be approached. No doubt, more meaningful information could have been obtained if interviews had been conducted with the respondents but time did not permit this.

The work done on the questionnaire went through four stages. First, some forty questions concerning various aspects of squatting and responses to squatting were prepared, sorted into related items, and reduced to the following five:-

- (i) What are voluntary welfare organisations doing about Coloured squatting?
- (ii) What, in their opinion, should be done about it?
- (iii) Do they perceive difficulties that are specific to work in the field of Coloured squatting?
- (iv) Are professional social workers in the agencies involved in work related to Coloured squatting and, if so, in what ways are they involved?
- (v) Who else, in their opinion, should be involved?

With the above in mind, the first draft for the questionnaire was completed and submitted to the supervisor for comment. This second step could be considered the equivalent of a pre-testing process. That is, instead of asking colleagues for their opinions on the questionnaire, the supervisor provided critical comment. In response to this, the number of questions was reduced on methodological grounds, questions were rephrased, and again presented for comment. This resulted in a third draft which was critically evaluated by the supervisor and then recast into its final form.

Details concerning the construction of the questionnaire are given in Chapter 6.

Depending on the technique employed for observation, this phase of the research process may involve the researcher's skills and time in major or minor ways. In participant observation, for instance, the researcher's relationship skills, communication skills, ability to observe, evaluate, and record, will simultaneously be demanded, and a large part of the time available for the research will be devoted to this phase. Structured interviews also draw heavily on the researcher's time, and demand skill in establishing rapport, presenting questions in a non-threatening and unambiguous manner, and being able to pace the interview sensitively to accord with the pace that is comfortable for the respondent. When using a mailed questionnaire, however, none of these skills are called for at the time of "observation". The observer is required only to read the respondents' written replies in preparation for the step of data recording. Nevertheless, all of the skills mentioned above are demanded of the researcher who uses a mailed questionnaire, but in an anticipatory sense. That is, at the time of questionnaire construction, the researcher needs to anticipate the "unseen" relationship that will form between himself and his respondent through the medium of the questionnaire and its covering letter. This aspect will be discussed more fully in the following Chapter.

Data recording

This step involves "setting down, in writing or other permanent form, the yield of observation" (Batson, 1980). Again, different demands will be made on the researcher depending on the technique that was used for observation. Even where questionnaires are used, the recording stage requires

different kinds of researcher involvement according to differences in questionnaire construction and in the nature of the responses elicited. Simple "yes" and "no" answers need no further recording whilst open-ended questions eliciting a variety of (sometimes lengthy) responses are likely to need interpretation and editing.

The questionnaire used in this case contained items calling for unstructured responses, items that provided an open-ended series of alternatives, and "closed" items. Editing notes were made directly on the questionnaires. For instance, a response that was not clearly related to the question was marked in red ink "DK" to indicate that, at the stage of data marshalling, it should be counted as "no answer". A lengthy answer would be marked off into sections in red ink to make for easy separation of the different kinds of information it contained. In the main, editing was done to abbreviate answers without changing their essential meaning, thus where the question asked for opinions on the advantages of co-ordination, a response such as: "co-ordination of activities provides for more economic use of manpower" was shortened to "more economic". Where needed, all answers given to a particular question were listed to provide easier overview.

Marshalling

This proved to be a time-consuming stage of the work and one requiring careful decision as to how the data were to be combined into categories without "losing" too much of the detail in them and without biasing the results by creating categories that were either not mutually exclusive or not collectively exhaustive of the respondents' answers. As responses received to some of the questions were detailed and varied, and the number of respondents who answered each question relatively small, there was no way of avoiding some loss of detail in the categories decided upon. To counter-act this, however, a separate account was kept of sub-categories existing within categories so that, at the stage of analysis, this detail could be presented as a complement to the Tables, elucidating their content.

Once the categories had been decided upon, a grid was drawn up in which, against an identifying symbol for each respondent, his response or non-response was marked off in all of the categories covering every item in the questionnaire. Thus:-

	Agency 1	Agency 2	Agency 3	Agency 4	and so on
Q1. Family welfare					
Child welfare					
Care of the aged					
Care of the handicapped					

and so on

Q2. Indian					
Coloured					
White					
African					
Q3. Intervention needed					
Intervention not needed					
Prefer not to answer					

and so on

In certain researches this work is not handled by the researcher himself but is passed on to a computer centre for processing. Highly structured and pre-coded answers, for instance, lend themselves to computer processing provided that the variables can be ordered and measured in ways that accord with computerised instructions. It is perhaps for this reason that the "marshalling" stage, as Batson (1983a) points out, is not explicitly named in the research literature and guiding principles that could aid the research student are lacking. Batson comments as follows:-

The hope that the computer would be able to deputize for the mind is, so far, illusory. When the units of data are expressed in words rather than figures, the difficulty, without the help of some technique, becomes virtually an impossibility (1983a, 7).

Since much of social research and social work research is based upon data expressed in words, the document from which the above quotation was taken is useful in alerting the researcher to the complexities of this phase of the work.

Analysis

To allow for systematic inspection of the data, the following procedures were used in respect of Part I of the questionnaire. Univariate distributions were drawn up in respect of each question, showing how many respondents fell into each category. Question 8, calling for opinions on advantages and disadvantages of co-ordination of squatter intervention, elicited a range of responses that could not be classified other than under "advantages" and "disadvantages". Therefore, a selection of the responses to this question was reproduced in the commentary.

For purposes of comparing responses to the different questions, bivariate Tables were drawn up for all cases where comparison was potentially meaningful. Question 8, referred to above, was not included because the responses to the question could not be meaningfully tabulated.

In two other instances bivariate Tables were omitted. These concern the following:-

- (i) Comparison between responses to question 3 and responses to question 4

Question 3 asked: "In your opinion, is there a need for intervention in relation to Coloured squatting?" This was a closed question which gave respondents the option of answering "yes" or "no".

Question 4 stated: "If you answered "YES" in question 3, please state what type(s) of interventive activities you would consider to be helpful to Coloured squatters".

Therefore, only those who had replied "yes" to question 3 were called on to answer question 4. Consequently, it made no sense to attempt a comparison of the answers in question 4 with those in question 3.

- (ii) Comparison between responses to question 6 and responses to question 7

Question 6 (similar to question 3) asked for a "yes" or "no" answer in respect of need for co-ordination of interventive activities.

Question 7 (similar to question 4) asked those who had replied "yes" in the previous question to say who, in their opinion, should take the major role in the co-ordination of activities.

Hence, as was the case above, there was nothing to compare.

In the section on "marshalling", mention was made of the unavoidable loss of detail in the data which occurred when they were grouped into mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive categories. Often, the detail gave better insight into the respondent's intention than did the category. It was, therefore, necessary to bring this out in some way and the technique used for this purpose (adopted from Helm's Social Work in a South African City, 1962) was to draw up Lists in which these particulars could be accommodated. A category named "State authorities" for instance contained responses referring in some cases to local authorities only, in some cases to the central government and, in others, to both local and central authorities. A separate List was, therefore, needed in order to show how responses within the category were distributed.

Where a comparison of the number of responses given in each category could not readily be made by looking at the figures in the Tables, percentages were stated in the commentary to draw attention to the proportion of respondents that had answered in a certain way. Philip et al. (1975, 19) say that "as a rule percentages should not be used in dealing with totals of less than 100" since "with small totals, each unit carries a large amount of the percentage and this can give an erroneous impression". This is of course correct but the percentages here are not intended to convey an exact measurement. Rather, they are being used to convey meanings such as "most of the respondents chose category A" or "there was little difference in the weight given to each of the categories, but category B received least of the responses" and so on. In this sense, it seemed legitimate to calculate percentages based on totals smaller than 100 but, in all cases where the total was smaller than 30, attention has been drawn to this in the commentary.

Part II of the questionnaire was answered by only nine respondents. Consequently, little could be gained by drawing up bivariate Tables for the data derived from this part of the questionnaire. In some cases, so few data were available that even a univariate Table was not needed. Hence, either a List or a comment on what the responses contained sufficed.

Verdict

"Verdict", as defined by Batson (1980) is "the logical judgement as to whether the initiating hypothesis has been disproved". In the case of this research, the "proof" must consist of an answer to the questions posed in the hypothesis. The "verdict" here is, therefore, a summary of what the data "say" in relation to the hypothesis, and an assessment of the extent to which the questions have been answered. Chapter 10 contains this material.

Action

Batson (1980) defines this (in relation to research) as a "desired change to which the research is applied". Action was not within the design of the present research. The research was directed towards objective research verdicts, available for alternative schemes of action.

NOTES

ON CHAPTER 5

1. The author is indebted to her supervisor for this clarification.
2. The assistance given to the author by Miss A. D. Gronum of the Department of Health and Welfare was much appreciated.
3. The supervisor's guidance in determining the parameters for the research is gratefully acknowledged.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire and its covering letter are often the only means whereby the researcher using mailed questionnaires can communicate with potential respondents. Respondents are not obliged to answer and, where anonymity is guaranteed, have no need to concern themselves about the researcher's reaction to their failure to respond. The approach made must, therefore, have appeal if it is not to go straight into the waste basket. Interviewers have the advantage of establishing rapport before the questions are asked, of assessing what style of interviewing would best meet the respondent on his own ground, of pacing the interview according to the respondent's rate of participation, of clarifying and asking for clarification, of showing appreciation of the respondent's willingness to contribute to the research. By contrast, the researcher using mailed questionnaires must do all these things through the vehicle of the questionnaire. That is, he needs to build up a picture of who his respondents might be, how they might feel about receiving yet another request that demands time and attention, how they might interpret the questions he is asking on paper and what clarification they might ask for if he were there to reply. He has to empathise with respondents of whom he knows nothing and make a fair estimate of their intellectual capacities. Finally, he has to guess at whether they would answer more spontaneously if assured of anonymity than they might do if identifiable.

Many of these requirements for building a "relationship in absentia" were incorporated in the covering letter (see Appendix C), in the manner of phrasing, and the sequential organisation of the questions, and in instructions and comments in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Three major features which are to be discussed more fully below were

- (i) absence of pressure,
- (ii) assurance of anonymity, and
- (iii) division of the questionnaire into sections.

In designing the questionnaire and covering letter, care was taken to avoid

statements that could cause recipients to feel obliged to answer any or all of the questions. It was hoped that agency representatives would fill in the questionnaire because they were interested in its content and not because they felt under pressure to do so. In the covering letter, recognition was explicitly given to the fact that recipients could have reasons for not answering. Comments to this effect were invited from respondents. It was, therefore, anticipated that respondents who did answer would be those who genuinely wished to do so and felt that they had something to contribute on the subject. The results indicated that this strategy was largely successful. Many of the respondents said why they could not or would not reply to certain questions. Consequently, it is felt that, where information was provided by respondents, this may on the whole be taken as sincerely considered and, therefore, suitable as a basis for drawing conclusions about the respondent agencies (although not about the total universe).

Anonymity was guaranteed because it was felt that the subject of Coloured squatting and agency involvement in it could be considered controversial. That this assumption was correct in respect of some respondents' views is brought out by the fact that two of the respondents stated that they preferred not to answer the questions on the grounds that these dealt with "political" issues.

The division of the questionnaire into sections had two purposes:-

- (i) To enable respondents to recognise that there was a specific section for the contributions of those who were not in any way involved in the field of Coloured squatting.
- (ii) To act as a self-selecting instrument that would draw in different categories of respondents.

In respect of (i) above, the covering letter contained the following request:-

If the work of your organisation is not in any way related to squatters who are classified as "Coloured", please answer Section I of the questionnaire nevertheless. Your opinion will be of value to the research. Otherwise, please answer both Section I and Section II.

In the questionnaire itself, a statement conveying the researcher's gratitude for the contribution of those who were not involved in work with Coloured squatters and had answered questions in Section I served to close off that part of the questionnaire.

Section II contained two sub-divisions; the first part being addressed to all who had been involved in work with Coloured squatters, the second part to organisations employing registered social workers.

It was felt that providing clarity on what was being asked of whom would save time and would obviate irritation at having to read through material irrelevant to the respondent.

An attempt was made to construct the questionnaire in such a way that it would generate a self-sampling process on some variables. The techniques used for this could be thought of as a series of nets, each successive "net" having a finer "mesh" than the previous one. The first (with the widest "mesh"), provided anonymity and made "non-entry" to the research acceptable. With this, it was hoped to draw in respondents who were interested in and concerned about Coloured squatting. Respondents were invited not to answer if they felt that they had reason for that. Non-answers, therefore, were preferred to carelessly or ignorantly answered questions.

The divisions in the questionnaire then invited different categories of respondents into the research, i.e. those who wished to express an opinion but were not otherwise involved with the subject, those who were involved, and those of the involved agencies that employed social workers.

Apart from these broad considerations, the following narrower but equally important aspects were attended to:-¹

- (i) The questionnaire was designed to require no more than approximately twenty minutes of the respondents' time if they were informed on the subject matter. All questions that were not directly pertinent were omitted.
- (ii) The layout ensured ease of reading, uncluttered appearance, and ample space for the responses.
- (iii) Three categories of questions were asked: identifying information (services rendered and population groups served), opinions on aspects of squatting, and facts about agency involvement in squatting.

- (iv) Three types of questions were included: closed questions, open-ended series of alternatives, and open questions.
- (v) Care was taken to avoid ambiguity, double-barrelled questions, and the like.
- (vi) In questions that required a "yes" or "no" answer, the first alternative presented was "no". It was hoped in this way to counteract two response tendencies, i.e. the tendency to answer "yes" more readily than "no", and the tendency to choose the first alternative more often than the subsequent ones.
- (vii) Every attempt was made to avoid using emotionally laden terms in the questions. The word "Coloured" could carry emotional connotations and was, for this reason, placed in inverted commas in the covering letter.
- (viii) Questions were arranged in logical sequences to obviate respondents' confusion or irritation.
- (ix) Impersonally phrased questions were avoided. The questions asked for "your opinion" and referred to agencies as "your organisation".

Appendix B contains a list stating each question in its original form followed by the same question in its final form together with a comment concerning the changes that were made or the reasons for having rejected a question from the questionnaire.

NOTESON CHAPTER 6

1. The author wishes to acknowledge her special indebtedness to the following works.

M. Duverger: Introduction to the Social Sciences, Translator: M. Anderson. General editor: B. Chapman. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1968 (143-167);

W.J. Goode and P.K. Hatt: Methods in Social Research, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952 (132-183);

C.H. Mindell: "Instrument Design and Construction" in R.M. Grinnell, Jr.: Social Work Research and Evaluation, Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1981 (156-179).

CHAPTER 7

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART I OF THE QUESTION- NAIRE: UNIVARIATE TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS

Two forms of data-presentation have been used: Tables and Lists. The Tables (with the exceptions mentioned below) reflect the responses of all 114 respondent agencies to specific questions in the questionnaire. The exceptions are (i) Table 1 in Chapter 7 which gives a distribution of the 285 agencies that were asked to participate in the research, and (ii) Tables 38 to 42 in Chapter 9 which reflect only the data derived from Part II of the questionnaires returned by agencies that had undertaken activities in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982.

The Lists provide details concerning sub-categories found within responses to particular questions or, responses received from a sub-category of the respondent agencies, or both. Hence, the Lists serve to amplify portions of what is contained in the Tables.

Whereas the final totals of the Tables are pre-determined by the total number of respondents (114 for Part I of the questionnaire and nine for Part II), the totals of the Lists vary according to the sub-categories included in them and the number of responses made within these categories. As these totals are not statistical constraints but are part of the description of the contents of a column, they have been included in the descriptive column-headings. Since the Lists are subordinate to the Tables, titles of the Lists have not been centered.

Figures in the cells represent an enumeration of how many respondents fell into each category specified in the Tables and Lists. The figures have been examined for emerging patterns of association but without applying measures to such patterns to determine levels of significance. The Lists form part of the commentary on the Tables, revealing detail that would not otherwise have been discernible. Apparent patterns of association are referred to in the commentary and are, in some instances, translated into percentages for the purpose of comparison. However, the percentages are used only in the sense of "more cases" and "fewer cases" and should not be read as exact reflections of proportionate relationships. In many instances

the base for the calculation of the percentages was not strictly adequate because the totals were small but, in each case, the totals on which percentages were based have been explicitly mentioned in the commentary or shown in the frequency distributions.

In respect of the data derived from responses to Part I of the questionnaire, all univariate Tables and all feasible bivariate Tables have been drawn up (see Chapter 5 for the discussion on this). The data derived from the responses to Part II of the questionnaire are presented separately in Chapter 9 and, in view of the small number of respondents involved, have been handled slightly differently (see the discussion in Chapter 5).

As the data are not quantitative, they could not be correlated. Measures of association were not used because they are by nature more approximate and the cases involved were so few that the results would have been subject to a high value of sigma.

With the exception of Tables 1 and 2 (and related comments), this Chapter deals with data derived from responses to Part I of the questionnaire as expressed in univariate Tables.

Questionnaires were sent out to 285 voluntary welfare agencies in Greater Cape Town. Stamped and addressed envelopes were enclosed to facilitate their return. Forty per cent (114 questionnaires) were returned by the agencies before the closing date. Five were returned too late to be included in the analysis. One understamped item had been refused by the addressee, one was returned to the sender with a surcharge note from the Post Office, and three had not reached their destination because they had been incorrectly addressed (see Table 1).

The remaining 160 questionnaires were not returned or, at any rate, were not received back by the author. No reason for this is known but several factors that could have influenced the response rate suggest themselves. These are discussed below.

The postal rates were increased on the day that had been stated in the covering letter as the due date for returning the questionnaires.¹ Unfortunately, the author had no advance knowledge of the postal increase.

TABLE 1

Distribution of agencies
according to
return of questionnaires

Questionnaires	All agencies
Returned by agencies before closing date	114
Returned by agencies after closing date	5
Understamped item refused by agency	1
Returned by postal authorities (not received by agencies)	5
Not returned (DK)	160
All questionnaires	285

Those who responded promptly got their letters through before the change in rates. Some of those who had been less prompt may have decided not to return the questionnaire when they became aware that the date had passed for the increase.

Several respondents who returned their questionnaires late had added the necessary additional 2c stamp but in eight cases the University paid a penalty in response to a surcharge note from the postal authorities. It is possible that not all clerks at the post office and all workers in the University's postal department had dealt with understamped items in this way and that, consequently, some questionnaires were lost track of, but the likelihood of this seems small.

Among the respondents there was one who seems to have felt that the questionnaire was not intended for his or her agency. The covering letter had stated that the questionnaire was being sent to "voluntary welfare organisations". This term was intended to include fund-raising

organisations that offer services in the field of welfare. The respondent in question wrote "please note, we are no longer a welfare society, we are a fund-raising society now". There may have been some potential respondents who were, for this reason, unsure as to whether the questionnaire was actually intended for them. If, however, such agencies had been working in the field of Coloured squatting, they would have been likely to return the questionnaire despite this uncertainty. The respondent referred to above had represented an agency which was "in no way connected with squatter relief".

A factor that may have had considerable influence on the response rate is the degree of knowledge existing among potential respondents regarding the subject-matter of the questionnaire. Of those who returned the questionnaire, 14 per cent either said explicitly or indicated in some other way that they considered themselves to be insufficiently informed on Coloured squatting to be in a position to answer the questions. Although one cannot say with certainty that non-respondents failed to return their questionnaires for this reason, it is highly improbable that the "non-informed" were represented more often in the group of respondent agencies than in the group of non-respondents. Indeed, the converse is the more likely case.

Two of the respondents stated that they wished not to be associated with the research as it touched on issues of a political nature. Possibly there were others who held this view and preferred not to return the questionnaire.

There remain many unknown factors. Perhaps there were people who considered the inquiry to be an unprofitable exercise, lacked the time to deal with it, or failed to respond for other reasons.

In the analysis that follows, only the 114 questionnaires returned by agencies before the closing date have been included but, within this group of returns, non-responses to individual questions have been reported.

Before analysing the responses to individual questions, the divisions within the questionnaire and the responses in these divisions were studied. Table 2 reflects these. A major division was made between parts I and II of the questionnaire and respondents whose work was not in any way related to Coloured squatting were asked to answer only part I.

Part I may be divided as follows:-

- Section A: covering services offered and population groups served (questions 1 and 2);
- Section B: calling for opinions on Coloured squatting (questions 3 to 8);
- Section C: asking for information on activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting during 1982 and including the category "none" for those who did not undertake any such activities (question 9).

Part II of the questionnaire can be subdivided into two sections:-

- Section D: which calls for further information on the activities mentioned in Section C (questions 10 to 14);
- Section E: which applies only to those organisations that employed registered social workers in 1982 (questions 15 to 20).

Item 21 in the questionnaire was not a question. It merely provided an opportunity for respondents to add any comments they might have wished to make.

Table 2 shows how many of the respondent organisations answered any or all questions in each of the sections mentioned above. Of the five respondents who provided no data in any of the sections, one stated that there had been "no one available" to answer it. The remaining four questionnaires were returned without comment. Of the 35 respondents who answered questions only in Section A, or in A and C combined, 16 indicated in various ways that they did not consider themselves qualified to respond to the remaining questions. Examples of comments received were:-

We do not have the experience to be able to express an opinion.

My organisation has absolutely nothing to do with squatters ...
I feel this is quite out of our province.

I do not think that our organisation can help you in any way as we work mainly with Whites.

(These comments are continued on page 70.)

TABLE 2

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
sections of the questionnaire answered or partly answered

Sections in which one or more questions were answered	All agencies
None of the sections	5
Section A only	23
Section A and B only	3
Section A and C only	12
Section A,B and C only	62
Section A,B,C and D only	1
All Sections	8
All	114

Key

Section A = questions 1 and 2 (identifying data)

Section B = questions 3 to 8 (opinions on squatting)

Section C = question 9 (whether agency served squatters and how)

Section D = questions 10 to 14 (information on work with squatters)

Section E = questions 15 to 20 (information on social work).

We have never been involved in any way with Coloured squatters. In view of this, questions 3 to 21 inclusive are not applicable.

The above institute does not employ a social worker so we cannot help you in this matter.

Unfortunately this does not fall within the scope of our activities ... we are therefore returning your questionnaire.

It didn't really have anything to do with us, because we are not involved in the problem of Coloured squatting. Accordingly I was not able to give any really sensible answers to your questions.

These respondents saw themselves as insufficiently informed about the subject to be able to complete the major portions of the questionnaire but they were certainly not unwilling to respond to the extent that they were able to do so. This was evident in the care taken to provide detailed data to the questions in Section A and in the expressions of regret and extensions of good wishes for the success of the research.²

There were a further 18 respondents (16%) whose answers in Section A were such that it was obvious that their organisation's service did not include activities related to Coloured squatting. These, however, did not say explicitly that they felt unable to answer questions beyond Section A and the author classified their non-responses in the questions that followed as "DK" since the absence of an explanation left open the question of whether they had felt unable to contribute or whether they had wished, for reasons not known to the author, to be not involved in the research.

In most cases (62 respondents), those who provided opinions on squatting in Section B proceeded to give a response also in Section C.

There were only nine respondents who proceeded to part II of the questionnaire and, of these, one did not answer any of the questions in Section E. Since Section E was prefaced in the questionnaire with the statement that "the remaining questions apply only to organisations employing registered social workers", it is tempting to conclude that the respondent in question omitted the Section for that reason. However, in the absence of a statement to that effect, this non-response was also classified under "DK".

The main services offered by respondent agencies are summarised in Table 3. Where two or more different fields of service were mentioned by a single agency, these have been shown in the Table as "combined services" without specifying the combinations. The diversity of combinations was so great

that they could not be accommodated in the Table in any other way. The data in List I, giving a breakdown of all the different categories of services mentioned by respondents, are therefore presented as a complement to Table 3.

TABLE 3

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
type of service offered

Service	All agencies
Family welfare	9
Child welfare	11
Care of the aged	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	22
Prevention and treatment of addictions	2
Housing	2
Correction	-
Social Relief	7
Other single service	3
Combined services	32
Unable to answer	1
DK	8
All	114

LIST I

192 services offered by 105 respondent agencies and classified according to types of service

Service	192 services
Marital counselling	12
Family welfare	26
Individual care	1
Child welfare	31
Youth work	1
Care of the aged	32
Care of the physically handicapped	24
Sport for the physically handicapped	1
Care of the physically ill	1
Care of the mentally ill	1
Care of the mentally handicapped	15
Prevention and treatment of alcoholism	5
Prevention and treatment of other substance dependencies	2
Housing	7
Night shelter for vagrants	1
Shelter for destitute women	1
Housing for war veterans	1
Correction	4
Social relief	21
Soup kitchen	1
Social club	1
Service club	1
Community work project	1
Therapeutic recreation	1

From List I it can be seen that the most frequently-mentioned service was care of the aged (17%) followed, in descending order, by child welfare (16%), family welfare (14%), care of the physically handicapped (13%), social relief (11%), and care of the mentally handicapped (8%). The frequencies for the remaining services were negligible.

It is perhaps worth noting at this stage that housing makes up 4% of the services mentioned. If the three related categories are added to this, i.e. night shelter for vagrants, shelter for destitute women, and housing for war veterans, the total for housing is 5%. It does, of course not follow that the extent of the services offered in the field of housing by the respondent agencies is equal to 5% of all welfare services mentioned by them; this would depend on the size of the agencies concerned and on the proportion of work devoted to housing by those agencies. However, the data do suggest a very limited level of involvement on the part of voluntary welfare in the field of housing.

Table 4 shows which population groups were served by the respondent agencies. Of the 114 respondents, 101 answered this question. Fifty-four agencies offered services exclusively to one population group. Of these, 4% served Africans only, 24% served Coloured people only, and 72% served the White group only. There were no single-service agencies for the Indian group. In all cases where agencies served more than one population group, the Coloured group was included among their beneficiaries.

Further amplification of these data is given in Lists II and III.

TABLE 4

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
population group served

Population group	All agencies
All four groups	23
Excluding Indian group only	6
Excluding Coloured group only	-
Excluding White group only	2
Excluding African group only	1
Combinations of Coloured and White only	14
Combinations of Coloured and African only	1
Indian group only	-
Coloured group only	13
White group only	39
African group only	2
Unable to answer	1
DK	12
All	114

LIST II

101 respondent agencies that provided information on population group served classified according to number of population groups served

Number of groups	101 Agencies
One group only	54
Two groups	15
Three groups	9
All four groups	23

LIST III

101 respondent agencies that provided information on population group served classified according to availability of their service to each of four population groups

Population groups	Services available to population groups in 101 agencies (total 203)
Indian	26
Coloured	60
White	83
Black	34

Just over half of the 101 respondent agencies rendered services exclusively to one group, roughly one quarter excluded one or two of the groups, and the remaining quarter served all groups (see List II). The total number of agencies available to each population group is shown in List III.

Respondents were next asked the question: "In your opinion, is there a need for intervention in relation to Coloured squatting?" (see Table 5).

Those who provided no answer here totalled 54, just less than half of all the respondents. Of these, 16 indicated in one way or another that they did not feel qualified to offer an opinion, two wished not to answer as they felt that the question had political implications, and 36 did not specify why they had not given an answer.

Of the 60 respondents who did answer the question, 51 said that intervention was needed. Thus, an 85% response in favour of intervention was given by those who answered the question.

TABLE 5

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on need for intervention

Opinion	All agencies
Needed	51
Not needed	9
Unable to answer	16
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	36
All	114

TABLE 6

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention

Opinion on intervention	All agencies
Provision of housing and related services	14
Combined interventions including provision of housing and related services	13
Other single interventions	6
Other combined interventions	11
Not applicable	9
Unable to answer	19
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	40
All	114

Table 6 summarises opinions expressed on what would constitute helpful intervention in Coloured squatting. The question was an open one. Seventy respondents (61%) provided no answer here but, of these, nine had said in the previous question that intervention was not needed. The question concerning what intervention would be helpful was, therefore, not relevant in their cases.

Seventeen per cent of all respondent agencies said that they were unable to answer the question or indicated, for instance with a question mark, that they did not know how to answer it. Two per cent preferred not to answer, and 35% gave no indication of why they had not answered.

Twenty-seven (61%) of the 44 respondents to the question contributed a total of 35 statements that were classified under "provision of housing and related services". Approximately one third of these statements referred to site-and-service schemes. See List IV for details.

LIST IV

35 responses included in the category "provision of housing and related services", as divided into eight sub-categories

Sub-category	35 responses in the category "provision of housing and related services"
More and better housing	11
Low income housing	4
Core housing	2
Site-and-service schemes	12
Provision of building materials	2
Home ownership	1
Night shelter	2
Single accommodation	1

Several of the respondents had mentioned two or more types of intervention that they considered particularly helpful. List V shows how many of the 44 respondents had made mention of each type of intervention.

LIST V

88 instances of types of helpful intervention suggested by 44 respondent agencies

Intervention	88 opinions
Provision of housing and related services	27
Provision of finance and job opportunities	9
Education and training	5
Control of squatting	5
Self-help schemes (other than housing)	5
Decentralisation of industry	2
Family planning	2
Social welfare services	10
Health services	3
Change in relevant legislation	5
Research	4
Social action	4
Discipline in squatter communities	3
Co-ordination of interventive effort	3
Police protection for squatters	1

This amplification of the responses illustrates that (apart from the interventions included in the category referring to "housing") social welfare services and the provision of finance and job opportunities were frequently the subject of opinions expressed.

Lists IV and V together contain more than 20 different categories of opinions on helpful intervention. Thus, an impression can be formed of the diversity of opinions that were held. Neither Table 6 nor the two Lists can do justice to this, however, particularly as many responses were difficult to classify and suggestions ranged across a wide spectrum of factors related to squatting. Finer differences between the various responses were lost in the process of categorising them.

The majority of respondents called for the provision of services that would help to meet basic human needs such as the need for water, food, shelter, sanitation, medical care, and education. Frequent mention was also made of the need for financial assistance and for job opportunities. References to self-help schemes included suggestions that building materials be provided and that guidance be given in erecting effective shelters. Some respondents made reference to the need for adequate access roads and lighting, others emphasised social and recreational needs, still others advocated the creation of action groups and pressure groups within squatter communities.

Exceptions to the above were respondents who advocated control measures to stop the further spread of squatting. One of the respondents suggested that "Coloureds from rural areas infiltrating into urban areas should be helped to return to their place of origin". Another response, exceptional because it conveyed an attitude that differed from those expressed by the majority of respondents, was: "I do not accept that economic or the housing shortage reasons are the only ones. What role does liquor abuse/misuse play?"

At the opposite end of the continuum was one respondent who suggested "motivating in Parliament to legalise the squatters" and another who said "let them be given the freedom to live and work where they want".

The question calling for opinions on what would constitute helpful intervention was followed by a request for opinions on who should be involved in intervention. Here again, responses varied widely and the diversity of the combinations that were suggested could not be reflected in a Table. The author, therefore, has grouped the responses into five categories representing the major trends that emerged from the answers (see Table 7).

TABLE 7

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on who should be involved in interventions

Opinions on actors to be involved	All agencies
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, the Business sector, and State authorities	18
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, Social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the Business sector	12
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding Social welfare organisa- tions	7
Other combinations including State authorities	9
Various other choices not inc. State	13
Unable to answer	16
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	37
All	114

Just over half of the respondents answered the question. Roughly one-third of these proposed combinations including Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, the business sector, and the State authorities. Approximately one-fifth included all of the above with the exception of the business sector. Various other choices that could not be classified in one category received roughly the same support and the remaining responses were divided between those that combined Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluded the social welfare organisations, and those that suggested still other actors in combination with the State.

Although only 59 respondents had answered the question, their answers made up a total of 220 single choices. These are classified in List VI.

LIST VI

220 opinions expressed by 59 respondent agencies on who should be involved in intervention

Actors to be involved	220 opinions	
	one actor only	more than one actor
Coloured leaders	3	41
Coloured squatters	-	19
General public	1	19
Social welfare organisations	-	41
The business sector	-	27
Religious leaders	-	19
State authorities	2	48

One respondent felt that the general public should carry the responsibility for intervention, two of the respondents were of the opinion that the State should be the sole actor, and three said that only Coloured leaders should take interventive action. Apart from these few references to intervention by a single body or sector, preference was given to action by a combination of different bodies. List VI shows how much support was given to each

sector in the combinations that were proposed.

Twenty-two per cent of the support was given to the State authorities. This was followed closely by support for Coloured leaders and for social welfare organisations, each of which had 19% of the votes. Continuing in descending order, the business sector attracted 13% of the choices and each of the following received nine per cent: Coloured squatters, the general public, and the religious leaders.

The category "State authorities" in Table 7 and in List VI represents a combination of two sub-categories, that of local authorities and that of central government (see List VII). The sub-category "local authorities" was mentioned by 44 of the 50 respondents who had suggested that the State should be involved in intervention, and the sub-category "central government" was mentioned by 36 of the same 50 respondents. That is, the two were frequently chosen together but greater support was given to the inclusion of the local authorities.

List VII

80 responses included in the category "State authorities" divided into sub-categories

Sub-categories	80 responses making up the category "State authorities"
Local authorities	44
Central government	36

The questionnaire did not call for comments on the specific role to be taken by each of the bodies proposed as actors in squatter intervention. Some respondents nevertheless added such comments, either in the question concerning intervention or elsewhere in the questionnaire. For example, one respondent said that social welfare agencies should work with squatters to pressurise central government for the abolition of laws that limit the freedom of people to "live and work where they want".

Another suggested that central government should provide cultural centres staffed by part-time demonstrators who could give input on cultural, domestic, and health matters.

The central government, said yet another, should offer incentives and aid to the social welfare organisations in order that these could provide counselling, organised group activities, and community based programmes in the squatter communities.

A respondent who proposed four sectors as actors in intervention, specified their roles as follows:-

Leaders in the Coloured squatter communities:
since they are the people centrally involved.
The business sector: to create the employment
opportunities needed. Local authorities: to
provide housing. Central government: to en-
sure that all people have political rights in
a unitary state.

In reply to the question on who should be involved, another respondent said "Everybody!!" and, in another part of the questionnaire, the same respondent wrote:-

We need new building regulations adapted to
the needs of the community. We must have
community leaders from within the community,
trained and used to motive /scil. motivate/
the people.

Finally, there was one respondent who offered the opinion that social welfare organisations should not be in the forefront of the interventive effort because they would become emotionally involved instead of contributing rational and practical input. The general public and the religious leaders were thought to be subject to the same handicap.

TABLE 8

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on need for co-ordination

Opinion	All agencies
Needed	52
Not needed	4
Unable to answer	18
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	38
All	114

The next two items in the questionnaire concerned co-ordination of inter-ventive activities. Respondents were asked whether they saw any need for co-ordination and, if so, whom they would propose for that role.

Fifty-two respondents were of the opinion that co-ordination was needed and four said that it was not needed. The total response to the question was 49% (see Table 8).

In Table 9, the replies concerning who should co-ordinate are grouped into four categories. The question drew responses from 43 agencies (a 38% response). This low response rate suggests that there were many who felt unable to answer the question, apart from those who said that they were unable to do so.

The statement most frequently made was that the State should take sole responsibility for co-ordination (16 respondents). Fourteen respondents suggested joint co-ordinators including State authorities and Coloured leaders or State authorities and other bodies. This was followed by 13 other suggestions which did not include the State.

Again, one wonders what roles were envisaged by respondents when they selected specific bodies as potential co-ordinators. Apart from the

statements that were quoted in the discussion concerning roles for the proposed actors in squatter intervention, a comment made in answer to the question on who should be responsible for the co-ordination bears mention here.

Financial and legal (the Group Areas Act) problems persist and therefore central government intervention is essential.

This should not be taken to mean that "central government" should enforce the law. On the contrary, the respondent's comment (quoted below) to a subsequent question leaves no doubt as to the import of the statement.

Squatting ... is illegal. Law enforcement clogs up the criminal justice system but alleviates neither the person's nor society's problem.

TABLE 9

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
Opinions on who should co-ordinate

Opinion on co-ordinators	All agencies
State authorities	16
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> State Authorities and Coloured leaders	9
Combinations including State authorities but excluding Coloured leaders	5
Various actors but not including State	13
Not applicable (On account of Answer in Q3)	4
Unable to answer	20
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	45
All	114

List VIII

69 opinions expressed by 43 respondent agencies on who should co-ordinate interventions

Co-ordinators	69 Opinions	
	One co-ordinator	More than one co-ordinator
Coloured leaders	3	9
Coloured squatters	2	1
General public	1	1
Social welfare organisations	4	9
Business sector	1	4
Religious leaders	0	4
State authorities	16	14

List VIII gives a distribution of 69 single statements which were incorporated in the categories mentioned above. The category "State authorities" was mentioned most frequently (44% of all the statements). Then followed "social welfare organisations" (19%) and Coloured leaders (17%). The business sector had seven per cent of all suggestions, religious leaders were given six per cent, Coloured squatters (as distinct from Coloured leaders) received four per cent, and the general public was included twice.

Twenty-seven of the 43 respondents advocated co-ordination by one body or sector only.

In the next question, respondents were asked to comment on potential advantages and disadvantages of co-ordination. This question drew few responses (28 out of 114). Of these, 17 mentioned advantages only, three commented on disadvantages only, and eight mentioned both (see Table 10). The sixty-six DK's in the Table, include some responses that could not be otherwise classified because it was not clear whether the comment was intended to suggest an advantage or a disadvantage.

TABLE 10

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on potential advantages and disadvantages
of co-ordination

Opinion	All agencies
Advantages only	17
Disadvantages only	3
Both advantages and disadvantages	8
Unable to answer	18
Prefer not to answer	2
DK	66
All	114

Many of the respondents who answered this question had taken the trouble to add details and explanations to their answers. Their responses in the main covered:

potential advantages of co-ordination,
potential tasks for co-ordinators,
potential disadvantages of co-ordination,
difficulties to be expected in co-ordinating, and
other concerns related to the topic.

There were no clear dividing lines between these. Sometimes, one statement would cover two or more of the above.

The quotations that follow are representative of the opinions that were expressed. Where two or more respondents made essentially the same point, only one has been selected for inclusion. Some of the responses pointing to advantages of co-ordination were:-

Co-ordination of activities provides for more economic use of manpower.

/Dit/ betrek alle belanghebbende partye.³

Persone met spesifieke belange en kennis kan hulle bydrae in die komitees lewer en die Beheerraad so dien met verstandige voorstelle. Die Beheerraad kry sodoende 'n breë oorsig en diepe insig in al die fasette van die probleem.⁴

Resources and planning can be pooled and shared to the best advantage of the squatters if organisations come together to deal with this problem.

The "organisations" referred to above were social welfare organisations together with leaders in the Coloured squatter communities and with local authorities.

Co-ordination is essential so that all are confronted with the real facts of the problems and are then better equipped to find a solution.

Samewerking bring begrip mee, asook wedersydse vertroue in mekaar.⁵

A comprehensive service inclusive of all that is needed can best be done by one group, the State ... since that is the body able to provide political rights, employment opportunities, and housing ... to the squatter communities.

Co-ordinating interventive action shows the importance of the issues in a constructive manner and is a power in itself. It is an educational process for the local inhabitants.

One may take this last statement to mean that, through involvement in interventive and co-ordinating activities, the squatters themselves would develop skills in joint problem-solving. This is confirmed by another statement of the same respondent which advocates the formation of Tenants' Associations and action groups.

One respondent made the point that all sectors of society should be involved in the interventive effort, that pressure groups were needed, and that co-ordination should be in the hands of either the leaders in the Coloured squatter communities or in the hands of organisations such as churches and welfare bodies, elected for this purpose by the squatters. This would lead,

the respondent suggested, to more purposeful action, less confusion for squatters, and less fragmentation of interventive action. It would "add weight to the case", broaden perspectives, and ensure a more comprehensive input.

A further advantage mentioned was that

"passing the buck" situations could be eliminated. Overlap will be limited and whatever resources are available could be applied to maximum effect.

One respondent, suggesting that social welfare organisations should take on the co-ordination, said that these should directly request financial subsidies from central government. The social welfare organisations should then

act as one organised body which would be representative of the entire squatter community /and/ could put forward decisions made by all involved ... These could then be put to Central Government with the weight of all squatters and concerned persons behind them.

"The Central Government", said another, "should take the major role so as to legalise the efforts of social welfare organisations". This respondent continued by saying that

the ideal would appear to be for Central Government to offer incentives and aid to social welfare organisations who, through a co-ordinating local committee, could then involve the business sector for financial and/or other assistance.

Some of the comments concerning "disadvantages" pointed to difficulties that could be expected to arise in co-ordination generally. These included "lack of communication" and the notion that co-ordination "could be too inflexible". One respondent made his point amusingly, as follows.

Hulle sê 'n kameelperd is 'n perd wat deur 'n komitee gemaak is--vandaar die snaakse proporsies. Die Beheerraad sal daarteen moet waak om almal tevrede te stel en onsinnige kompromieë te maak. Anders is die eindproduk nóg perd nóg kameel.⁶

Other statements in respect of "disadvantages" brought out factors that were more directly related to the nature of the problem under consideration.

Thus, one respondent said

to co-ordinate will be difficult due to the many prejudices and lack of trust and goodwill amongst various sections of the population.

Another, commenting on who should co-ordinate, said

theoretically, Regional Welfare Boards, as they now have the responsibility of planning for welfare needs in areas. However, Boards are not accepted by many leaders. Practically, it is impossible to say as most authorities pass the buck and welfare organisations do not have resources, funds, or legislative powers.

Other responses, difficult to classify but of relevance to the topic, were the following:-

If properly co-ordinated with intelligence and caring, the only disadvantage I can see is the reluctance of the Coloured squatters themselves to being interfered with.

The State should guard against becoming too authoritarian.

Disadvantages: including the local authorities to take active steps in dealing with the problem.

This last statement was not further clarified but one may guess at its meaning if one takes into account the respondent's comments on what would constitute helpful intervention. Among them was included "motivating in Parliament to legalize the squatters".

Two responses with a different flavour follow.

Die nie-blanke bevolking sal nie kan leer om onafhanklik te funksioneer indien daar voortdurende Blanke hulp en bystand gelewer word nie. Hulle het ook beter begrip vir hul behoeftes en leemtes. Hulle word nie aangespoor tot verdere studies en betrokke-raak by hul eie probleme indien die Blanke professies voortdurend betrokke is nie.⁷

This respondent, from an agency serving only White clients, had said that neither co-ordination nor intervention was needed.

The following apparently fatalistic acceptance of the squatter situation appeared in the next response.

Squatters are an ongoing problem. Our experience is that when goods are given FREE to people, more and more will get "begging bowls".

The respondent who contributed the above had said that there is a need for co-ordinated intervention. Of interest in relation to what has been quoted here, however, was this respondent's answer to the question concerning what interventions would be helpful to Coloured squatters. The reply was "discipline" and "work".

A response that expressed a fear of exposure and victimisation was: "leaders would be very vulnerable and could get picked off". The word "leaders" here refers to squatter leaders and the respondent in question had suggested that these leaders should co-ordinate interventive activities through community-based organisations with a strong membership of squatters or homeless people. Specific activities proposed by this respondent included action by pressure groups and the use of publicity material. The respondent had also expressed the opinion that co-ordination would be difficult to accomplish as there were "too many empire builders around".

This summary of the opinions expressed shows not only that different respondents focussed on different priorities but that different basic standpoints existed among respondents concerning the whole question of Coloured squatting. On the whole, statements that pointed to "advantages" contained ideas of how co-ordination could most effectively contribute to an amelioration of the Coloured squatter situation. Among the statements that singled out "disadvantages", however, essential differences in ideological perspective could be discerned. On the basis of these responses, one must conclude that consensus on steps to be taken with regard to Coloured squatting would indeed be hard to reach.

The final item in Part I of the questionnaire asked agencies to state whether they had undertaken any activities in relation to Coloured squatting during 1982. Of the 114 respondents, 12 said they had done so, 70 said they had not undertaken any such activities, and 32 did not answer (see Table 11).

TABLE 11

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
whether activities were undertaken in relation to
Coloured squatting in 1982

Activities undertaken	All agencies
Yes	12
No	70
DK	32
All	114

Thus, approximately 15% of the agencies that answered the question had done work related to Coloured squatting. It is highly improbable that the 32 DK's represent agencies that had been involved in such work. One may therefore expect that the proportion of "involved" agencies is actually smaller than 15%. Similarly, it is unlikely that the proportion of agencies actively involved in work with Coloured squatters would be greater in the group of non-returned questionnaires than it is in the respondent group. Hence, it appears that very little work of this nature was done by voluntary welfare organisations in Cape Town during 1982.

The remainder of the questionnaire (Part II) required completion only by agencies that had undertaken activities in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982. Data derived from these agencies' answers in Part II are dealt with separately in Chapter 9.

In the Chapter now following, the data thus far discussed are presented in bivariate form.

NOTESON CHAPTER 7

1. The due date for the return of the questionnaires was in fact postponed to allow for the inclusion of the many late returns that were received. Nevertheless, five returns were received too late to be included in the analysis.
2. The author greatly valued these personal touches and expressions of encouragement from respondents.
3. All interested parties are involved. (Author's translation.)
4. Persons with specific interests and knowledge can make their contributions in the committees and in this way serve to provide the Control Board with sensible proposals. The Control Board may thus obtain a broad view of, and deep insight into, all facets of the problem. (Author's translation.)
5. Co-operation leads to understanding and to mutual trust. (Author's translation.)
6. A camel is a horse that has been made by a committee--hence the strange proportions. The Control Board will need to guard against pleasing everyone and making absurd compromises. Otherwise the end product will be neither horse nor camel. (Author's translation.)
7. The non-White population will not learn to function independently if White help and support is continually provided. They also have a better understanding of what they need and lack. They are not encouraged to undertake further studies and to become involved with their own problems if White professions remain involved. (Author's translation.)

CHAPTER 8

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART I OF THE QUESTION- NAIRE: BIVARIATE TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS

Part I of the questionnaire contained nine questions. Of these, the question asking for comments on advantages and disadvantages of co-ordination of squatter intervention elicited responses that could not be meaningfully tabulated. Thus, eight variables could be combined in bivariate form. However, there were two pairs of questions that were interdependent. The first question in each of these pairs called for a "yes" or "no" answer and the second question in each pair was intended only for those respondents who had said "yes" in the previous question. Consequently, there was no basis on which to compare the responses in the two pairs (see the discussion in Chapter 4).

Using the formula $n(n-1)/2$ where "n" represents the eight variables already mentioned, the number of possible combinations to be derived from these variables is 28 less two for the above-mentioned pairs, hence, 26 bivariate Tables. These 26 Tables are presented in this Chapter together with commentaries and supporting Lists.

TABLE 12

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
types of services rendered

Service	Number of Agencies				
	Serving Coloured group	Not serving Coloured group	Unable to Answer	DK	All
Family welfare	5	4	-	-	9
Child Welfare	5	6	-	-	11
Care of the aged	3	12	-	2	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	15	5	-	2	22
Prevention and treatment of addictions	1	-	-	1	2
Housing	-	1	-	1	2
Correction	-	-	-	-	-
Social Relief	5	2	-	-	7
Other single service	3	-	-	-	3
Combined services	22	10	-	-	32
Unable to answer	-	-	1	-	1
DK	1	1	-	6	8
All	60	41	1	12	114

Table 12 shows which types of services offered by the respondent agencies were available to the Coloured population group. Agencies rendering combined services and those for the welfare of the handicapped accounted for more than half of the services available to persons classified as "Coloured". Just over half of the services for the non-Coloured group only were provided by agencies for the welfare of the aged and by those offering combined services.

Many of the agencies serving the Coloured group served other groups as well and agencies offering combined services included in their service rendering those categories that are shown as single services in Table 12. A breakdown of each service rendered and each group served, therefore, provides a somewhat different picture, as the following Lists show. (See also List III which gives the distribution for the number of times each population group was included in the clientele of the respondent agencies.

LIST IX

60 respondent agencies serving Coloured population group classified according to all types of services rendered.

Type of service	Services rendered to Coloured group in 60 agencies (total 109 services)
Family welfare	18
Child welfare	19
Care of the aged	14
Welfare of handicapped persons	24
Prevention and treatment of addictions	2
Housing	7
Correction	2
Social relief	17
Other services	6

LIST X

26 respondent agencies serving Indian population group
classified according to all types of services rendered.

Type of service	Services rendered to Indian group in 26 agencies (total 43 services)
Family welfare	7
Child welfare	5
Care of the aged	4
Welfare of handicapped persons	15
Prevention and treatment of addictions	1
Housing	2
Correction	-
Social relief	6
Other services	3

LIST XI

83 respondent agencies serving White population group
classified according to all types of services rendered.

Type of service	Services rendered to White group in 83 agencies (total 135 services)
Family welfare	22
Child welfare	22
Care of the aged	27
Welfare of handicapped persons	26
Prevention and treatment of addictions	5
Housing	7
Correction	3
Social relief	17
Other services	6

LIST XII

34 respondent agencies serving African population group
classified according to all types of services rendered.

Type of service	Services rendered to African group in 34 agencies (total 58 services)
Family welfare	9
Child welfare	7
Care of the aged	5
Welfare of handicapped persons	16
Prevention and treatment of addictions	1
Housing	2
Correction	1
Social relief	13
Other services	4

For Coloured people, services for the handicapped were highest on the list but other services frequently offered were family welfare, child welfare, care of the aged, and social relief.

The total number of services offered by respondent agencies to the Coloured population exceeded those for the Indian group by 66 and those for the African group by 51 but was less by 26 than the number of services available to the White group. The greatest discrepancy between services available for White people and those for Coloured people was in services for the aged (27 White and 14 Coloured) and in services for the prevention and treatment of addictions (5 White and 2 Coloured).

TABLE 13

Distribution of respondent agencies
 according to
opinion on need for intervention
 and
types of services rendered

Service	Agency opinions					
	Inter- vention needed	Inter- vention not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Family welfare	5	1	-	-	3	9
Child welfare	4	4	1	-	2	11
Care of the aged	4	1	3	-	9	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	13	1	4	-	4	22
Prevention & treatment of addictions	1	-	1	-	-	2
Housing	-	-	-	-	2	2
Correction	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social relief	2	1	1	-	3	7
Other single service	1	-	-	1	1	3
Combined services	21	1	1	1	8	32
Unable to answer	-	-	1	-	-	1
DK	-	-	4	-	4	8
All	51	9	16	2	36	114

Opinions expressed on need for intervention in Coloured squatting were classified according to types of services rendered by the respondent agencies. With the exception of child welfare agencies, strong support was given to the opinion that intervention in Coloured squatting was needed. Child welfare agencies were divided equally on the issue (four in favour and four against) whilst only five out of all the remaining agencies suggested that intervention was not needed. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 14

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
and
types of services rendered

Services	Agency opinions								
	Housing	Single inter- vention exclud- ing housing	Combined inter- vention includ- ing housing	Combined inter- vention exclud- ing housing	Not applic- able	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Family welfare	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	4	9
Child welfare	-	1	1	2	4	1	-	2	11
Care of the aged	1	-	1	-	1	3	-	11	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	5	2	3	1	1	6	-	4	22
Prevention and treat- ment of addictions	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Housing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Correction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social relief	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	3	7
Other single service	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Combined services	5	3	7	6	1	1	1	8	32
Unable to answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
DK	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	8
All	14	6	13	11	9	19	2	40	114

In the question asking what would constitute helpful intervention, the highest responders were agencies offering a combination of services. They advocated combined interventions rather more frequently than one single mode of intervention (13 for combined intervention and 8 for single interventions) and they expressed a slight preference for interventions including housing and services directly related to housing, as against services not including housing (12 including housing and 9 not including housing).

Agencies rendering services in one field only provided few answers to this question and preferences for modes of intervention varied from agency to agency. (See Table 14.)

TABLE 15

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on who should be involved in intervention
and
types of services rendered

Services	Agency opinions									
	A	B	C	D	E	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All	
Family welfare	2	1	2	-	2	-	-	2	9	
Child welfare	1	2	1	-	5	-	-	2	11	
Care of the aged	3	-	-	-	2	3	-	9	17	
Welfare of handicapped persons	3	4	3	1	2	4	-	5	22	
Prevention and treatment of addictions	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	
Housing	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	
Correction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Social relief	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	7	
Other single service	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	
Combined services	7	4	1	7	2	1	1	9	32	
Unable to answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
DK	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	8	
All	18	12	7	9	13	16	2	37	114	

Key

Category A : Combinations including inter alia Coloured leaders, Social welfare organisations, Business sector, and State authorities.

" B : Combinations including inter alia Coloured leaders, Social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the Business sector

" C : Combinations including inter alia Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding Social welfare organisations

" D : Other combinations including State authorities

" E : Various other choices, not including State.

Opinions on who should be involved in interventions related to Coloured squatting were fairly evenly distributed between agencies (see Table 15).

TABLE 16

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on need for co-ordination
and
types of services rendered

Services	Agency Opinions					
	Co-ordination needed	Co-ordination not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Family welfare	5	2	-	-	2	9
Child welfare	7	1	1	-	2	11
Care of the aged	4	-	3	-	10	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	12	-	5	-	5	22
Prevention and treatment of addictions	1	-	1	-	-	2
Housing	-	-	1	-	1	2
Correction	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social relief	2	1	1	-	3	7
Other single service	1	-	-	1	1	3
Combined services	20	-	1	1	10	32
Unable to answer	-	-	1	-	-	1
DK	-	-	4	-	4	8
All	52	4	18	2	38	114

Responses to the question concerning need for co-ordination (Table 16) were similar to those to the question concerning need for intervention (Table 13) except that, somewhat surprisingly, only one of the child welfare agencies that saw no need for intervention expressed the opinion that there was no need for co-ordination of intervention. The reason for this is not clear. It may be that some of the respondents who said "no" to intervention, meant "no , not by our agency", or "no, not in our area". Alternatively, a "no" to intervention, combined with a "yes" to co-ordination, could mean that these respondents felt that existing intervention was adequate and sufficient but that this should be co-ordinated.

TABLE 17

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on who should co-ordinate
and
types of services rendered

Services	Agency opinions								
	State authori- ties only	Combinations inc. inter alia State and Coloured leaders	Combinations inc. State but excluding Coloured leaders	Various actors but not inc. State	Not applic- able	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Family welfare	3	-	-	1	2	1	-	2	9
Child welfare	3	1	-	3	1	-	-	3	11
Care of the aged	-	1	1	-	-	4	-	11	17
Welfare of handi- capped persons	4	2	-	5	-	5	-	6	22
Prevention and treatment of addictions	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Housing	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Correction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social relief	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	3	7
Other single services	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Combined services	6	4	3	4	-	1	1	13	32
Unable to answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
DK	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	8
All	16	9	5	13	4	20	2	45	114

No specific response pattern could be discerned among agencies engaged in different service fields to the question who should be responsible for the co-ordination of squatter intervention. (See Table 17.)

The entire section calling for responses on issues related to Coloured squatting (questions 3 to 8 of the questionnaire) received few replies. The author consequently searched for a possible link between response rate and what is known about the respondents.

Of the 114 respondent agencies, 99 had provided information concerning services rendered and population groups served. If each of these 99 respondents had answered the "opinion" section of the questionnaire (Section B), there would have been a total of 594 answers in this section. However, the answers here totalled 289. In the Lists that follow, a breakdown is given of the number of answers provided in this Section of the questionnaire, according to type of service rendered (List XIII) and according to availability of service to the Coloured population (List XIV).

LIST XIII

289 responses received out of a possible 594 responses from 99 respondents to questions 3 to 8 calling for opinions on Coloured squatting classified according to type of service rendered by respondent agencies.

Type of service	99 agencies	289 responses received	594 possible responses
Family welfare	9	29	54
Child welfare	11	38	66
Care of the aged	15	18	90
Welfare of handicapped persons	20	68	120
Prevention and treatment of addictions	1	6	6
Housing	1	-	6
Social relief	7	12	42
Other single service	3	3	18
Combined services	32	115	192

LIST XIV

289 responses received out of a possible 594 responses from 99 respondents to questions 3 to 8 calling for opinions on Coloured squatting classified according to availability of services to the Coloured population.

Group served	289 responses received	594 possible responses
Coloured group served	199	354
Coloured group not served	90	240

The single agency classified under housing provided no answers to any of the questions. Low responders were agencies offering single unclassified services (17% response), followed closely by agencies for the welfare of the aged (20% response) and agencies offering social relief (29% response). The response rate for the remaining four categories was respectively: family welfare 54%; welfare for the handicapped 57%; child welfare 58%; and for agencies offering combined services, 60%. The single agency classified under prevention and treatment of addictions answered all of the questions.

Differences were also evident between agencies that offered service to Coloured people and those not including Coloured people amongst their clientele. A 56% response was received for agencies serving the Coloured group and a 38% response for the others.

TABLE 18

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
opinion on need for intervention

Agency opinion on intervention	Coloured group served				
	Yes	No	Unable to answer	DK	All
Needed	36	15	-	-	51
Not needed	3	6	-	-	9
Unable to answer	5	6	1	4	16
Prefer not to answer	2	-	-	-	2
DK	14	14	-	8	36
All	60	41	1	12	114

In Table 18, agencies serving the Coloured population group were classified according to opinion expressed on need for intervention in Coloured squatting. Respondents from agencies serving the Coloured group gave proportionately more support to the suggestion that intervention was needed (36 out of 39 respondents, 92%) than did agencies serving only non-Coloured groups (15 out of 21 respondents, 71%).

TABLE 19

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention

Agency opinion	Coloured group served				
	Yes	No	Unable to answer	DK	ALL
<u>Single intervention:</u>					
Housing	12	2	-	-	14
Other than housing	3	3	-	-	6
<u>Combined interventions:</u>					
including housing	10	3	-	-	13
Not including housing	8	3	-	-	11
Not applicable	3	6	-	-	9
Unable to answer	6	8	1	4	19
Prefer not to answer	2	-	-	-	2
DK	16	16	-	8	40
All	60	41	1	12	114

Agencies serving the Coloured population group were classified according to opinions expressed on what constitutes helpful intervention (see Table 19). The response rate in this question was low, especially for the "non-Coloured" agencies: 55% for agencies serving the Coloured group and 27% for agencies serving non-Coloured groups.

Housing services and services related directly to housing were mentioned with greater frequency by respondents from agencies serving the Coloured group than by the others.

TABLE 20

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
opinions on who should be involved in interventions

Agency opinions	Coloured group served				
	Yes	No	Unable to answer	DK	All
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, business sector, and State authorities	15	3	-	-	18
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the business sector	5	7	-	-	12
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding social welfare organisations	6	1	-	-	7
Category D: Other combinations including State authorities	6	3	-	-	9
Category E: Various other choices not including State	5	8	-	-	13
Unable to answer	5	6	1	4	16
Prefer not to answer	2	-	-	-	2
DK	16	13	-	8	37
All	60	41	1	12	114

Interesting differences existed between agencies serving Coloured and non-Coloured groups concerning the question on who should be involved in intervention in Coloured squatting (see Table 20). Thirty-seven out of 60 agencies serving Coloured clients and 22 out of 41 agencies serving only non-Coloured clients answered the question. Agencies serving the Coloured group gave their strongest support (41%) to Category A, which represented combinations of the following: Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, the business sector and the State authorities with, or without, still other parties involved (15 out of 37 responses). Only 14% support was given to this combination of actors by agencies not serving the Coloured group (three out of 22 responses).

The other Category more strongly supported by agencies serving the Coloured group was Category C. This Category (including inter alia Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding social welfare organisations) received 16% support from agencies serving the Coloured group (six out of 37 responses) and 5% from the other agencies (one out of 22 responses).

The order was reversed, however, in Categories B and E. Category B (similar to Category A but excluding the business sector) was supported more strongly by agencies serving only non-Coloured groups (seven out of 22 responses, 32%) than by agencies serving Coloured clients (five out of 37 responses, 14%).

Similarly, Category E, which excluded the State authorities, received 36% support from "non-Coloured" agencies (eight out of 22 responses) and 14% from the other agencies (five out of 37 responses).

Category D was a residual category including the State authorities together with various other actors but not in any of the combinations already mentioned. Here, the support was roughly equal: 16% from agencies serving Coloured clients (six out of 37 responses) and 14% from the other agencies (three out of 22 responses).

TABLE 21

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
opinions on need for co-ordination

Agency opinion on co-ordination	Coloured group served				
	Yes	No	Unable to answer	DK	All
Needed	35	17	-	-	52
Not needed	2	2	-	-	4
Unable to answer	5	8	1	4	18
Prefer not to answer	2	-	-	-	2
DK	16	14	-	8	38
All	60	41	1	12	114

From each of the two categories of agencies there were two respondents who expressed the opinion that there was no need for co-ordination of squatter intervention (see Table 21). Proportionately, however, the responses differed. Eleven per cent of responses from agencies serving only non-Coloured groups said that co-ordination was not needed (two out of 19 responses), whereas five per cent of responses from agencies serving Coloured clients supported this opinion (two out of 37 responses).

TABLE 22

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
availability of service to the Coloured population group
and
opinions on who should co-ordinate

Agency opinions	Coloured group served				
	Yes	No	Unable to answer	DK	All
State authorities only	13	3	-	-	16
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> State authorities and Coloured leaders	5	4	-	-	9
Combinations including State authorities but excluding Coloured leaders	5	-	-	-	5
Various actors but not including State	7	6	-	-	13
Not applicable	2	2	-	-	4
Unable to answer	6	9	1	4	20
Prefer not to answer	2	-	-	-	2
DK	20	17	-	8	45
All	60	41	1	12	114

Agency opinions concerning who should be responsible for co-ordination again differed according to groups served: those serving the Coloured group gave 43% backing to sole co-ordination by the State (13 out of 30 responses); those not serving the Coloured group chose State authorities as sole co-ordinators less often (three out of 13 responses, 23%). (See Table 22.)

Similarly, combinations of actors, including State authorities but excluding Coloured leaders, received 17% backing from agencies serving Coloured people and none from the others.

By contrast, combinations including inter alia State authorities and Coloured leaders, were more often chosen by agencies serving only non-Coloured groups: 31% of choices (four out of 13 responses) as against 17% from the other agencies (five out of 30 responses).

The remaining Category, which includes a variety of possible co-ordinators but does not include the State, was likewise mentioned more frequently by "non-Coloured" agencies (six out of 13 responses, 46%) than by agencies serving Coloured clients (seven out of 30 responses, 23%).

Thus, more emphasis was given to the responsibility of the State authorities and less to the responsibility of the Coloured leaders by agencies serving Coloured clients as against agencies not serving this population group.

A clearer picture emerges from the Lists that follow. In these, the combined categories of Tables 20 and 22 have been separated into single categories. Responses to each of these have been listed according to availability of agency service to the Coloured group and according to (a) intervention and (b) co-ordination.

LIST XV

228 opinions of 37 respondent agencies serving the Coloured population group on who should be involved in interventions related to Coloured squatting (178 opinions) and who should co-ordinate (50 opinions).

Sector	178 opinions on who should be involved	50 opinions on who should co-ordinate
Coloured leaders	30	8
Coloured squatters	13	2
General public	17	-
Social welfare organisations	26	9
Business sector	22	2
Religious leaders	15	2
Local authorities	29	20
Central government	26	7

LIST XVI

95 opinions of 22 respondent agencies not serving the Coloured population group on who should be involved in interventions related to Coloured squatting (72 opinions) and who should co-ordinate (23 opinions).

Sector	72 opinions on who should be involved	23 opinions on who should co-ordinate
Coloured leaders	14	4
Coloured squatters	6	1
General public	3	2
Social welfare organisations	15	4
Business sector	5	3
Religious leaders	4	2
Local authorities	15	4
Central government	10	3

A comparison of Lists XV and XVI shows that of the agencies serving the Coloured group, 37 (62%) answered one or both of the questions concerning who should be involved in intervention and co-ordination. Of the 41 agencies not serving the Coloured group, 22 responded to one or both of these questions (54%).

The 37 "Coloured" agencies made a total of 178 selections of actors for intervention (average of 4.8 selections per respondent agency) and a total of 50 selections of co-ordinators (average of 1.4 selections per agency).

The 22 "non-Coloured" agencies made a total of 72 selections of actors for intervention (average of 3.2 selections per agency) and a total of 23 selections of co-ordinators (average of 1 selection per agency).

Hence, not only was the response rate in these two questions higher in the case of agencies serving the Coloured group, but these agencies also tended to include a greater number of different actors and co-ordinators in their choices.

A comparison of choices made by each of the two groups of agencies in individual categories reveals the following:-

- (i) Coloured leaders were chosen as actors in intervention by 30 of the agencies serving the Coloured group (81% of agencies; 17% of all their choices), and they were chosen as co-ordinators by eight of the "Coloured" agencies (22% of agencies; 16% of their choices).

Fourteen agencies not serving the Coloured group chose Coloured leaders for involvement in intervention (64% of agencies; 19% of all their choices), and four agencies chose them as co-ordinators (18% of agencies; 17% of all their choices).

Thus, although the choice of Coloured leaders for both roles was made by a greater proportion of agencies serving Coloured clients, they supported the choice of Coloured leaders slightly less often in relation to all their choices than did the other agencies.

- (ii) Thirteen agencies serving the Coloured group chose Coloured squatters as actors in intervention (35% of agencies; 7% of all their choices), and two agencies chose the squatters as co-ordinators.

Six of the agencies not serving the Coloured group chose Coloured squatters as actors in the intervention (27% of agencies; 8% of all their choices), and one agency chose the squatters as co-ordinators.

The pattern is similar to (i) above.

- (iii) Seventeen agencies serving the Coloured group included the general public among their choice of actors in intervention (46% of agencies; 10% of all their choices), but none included them as co-ordinators.

Three agencies not serving the Coloured group included the general public as actors in intervention (14% of agencies; 4% of all their choices), and two agencies included them as co-ordinators.

More agencies serving the Coloured group than those serving only non-Coloured groups thus expressed a wish for participation of the general public in squatter intervention, but only two of all the agencies (those of the "non-Coloured" group) considered members of the general public for the role of co-ordinator.

- (iv) Social welfare organisations were chosen as actors in intervention by 26 "Coloured" agencies (70% of agencies; 15% of all their choices). Nine agencies chose these organisations as co-ordinators (24% of agencies; 18% of all their choices).

Fifteen agencies not serving the Coloured group chose social welfare agencies as actors in intervention (68% of agencies; 21% of all their choices). Four agencies chose them as co-ordinators (18% of agencies; 17% of all their choices).

That is, roughly the same proportion in each of the two groups of agencies supported the choice of social welfare organisations as actors in squatter intervention. However, in relation to all of their choices, the "non-Coloured" agencies gave rather more support to the social welfare agencies as actors than did the agencies serving Coloured clients. This last group of agencies on the other hand chose the social welfare organisations slightly more often as co-ordinators than did the other agencies.

- (v) The business sector was chosen 22 times as actor in intervention by agencies serving the Coloured group (59% of agencies; 12% of all their choices), and twice as co-ordinator.

This sector was chosen five times as actor in intervention by agencies not serving the Coloured group (23% of agencies; 7% of all their choices), and three times as co-ordinator.

Much more emphasis was placed on the role of the business sector in squatter intervention by agencies serving the Coloured group than by other agencies. The position is reversed in respect of the co-ordinating role but the difference here is slight.

- (vi) Fifteen agencies serving the Coloured group selected religious leaders as actors in intervention (41% of agencies; 8% of all their choices). Two agencies chose religious leaders as co-ordinators.

Of the agencies serving only non-Coloured groups, four selected religious leaders as actors in intervention (18% of agencies; 6% of all their choices), and two chose them as co-ordinators.

That is, the proportion of agencies serving Coloured clients and choosing religious leaders as actors in intervention was considerably greater than the proportion of "non-Coloured" agencies but the percentage choice did not differ greatly.

- (vii) Local authorities were chosen as actors in intervention by 29 agencies serving Coloured clients (78% of agencies; 16% of all their choices), and as co-ordinators by 20 agencies (54% of agencies; 40% of all their choices).

"Non-Coloured" agencies chose local authorities 15 times as actors in intervention (68% of agencies; 21% of all their choices), and four times as co-ordinators (18% of agencies; 17% of all their choices).

Thus, proportionately more of the agencies serving Coloured clients expressed the opinion that local authorities should be involved as actors in intervention but, in relation to all choices made by each group of agencies, the "non-Coloured" agencies actually gave more backing to the choice of local authorities than did the others. Much more emphasis was however given to the co-ordinating role of local authorities by agencies serving Coloured clients than by other agencies.

- (viii) The central government was included as actor in intervention by 26 agencies serving Coloured clients (70% of agencies; 15% of all their choices), and as co-ordinator by seven agencies.

Agencies not serving Coloured clients chose the central government as actor in intervention 10 times (45% of agencies; 14% of all their choices), and three times as co-ordinator.

In all respects, the agencies serving Coloured clients chose the central government more frequently than did the other agencies.

The overall picture is as follows. Among the agencies serving the Coloured group, the highest proportion of all choices made for the role of actor in squatter intervention went to the Coloured leaders and the local authorities, followed closely by social welfare organisations and the central government.

Among the agencies not serving the Coloured group, the highest proportion of all choices for actor in intervention went to social welfare organisations and local authorities, followed closely by the choice of Coloured leaders.

The "non-Coloured" agencies were fairly evenly divided over the choice of co-ordinator but among agencies serving the Coloured group there was considerable variation of choice. Local authorities were selected for this role by 54% of these respondents, receiving 40% of all their choices. Next in line among choices of the "Coloured" agencies were social welfare organisations, Coloured leaders, and central government (in that order) each with approximately 16% of all their choices. Four per cent of their choices went to each of Coloured squatters, the business sector, and the religious leaders. The general public was not chosen for this role.

The majority choice of local authorities as co-ordinators by respondents from agencies serving the Coloured group may be linked to the fact that most Coloured housing is controlled by the local authorities. That is, these agencies are likely to have frequent contact with local authorities on behalf of their clients and would therefore be in a better position to understand the role that this sector plays in the daily lives of the Coloured people with respect to housing.

TABLE 23

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
types of services rendered

Services	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
Family welfare	-	6	3	9
Child welfare	-	10	1	11
Welfare of the aged	1	9	7	17
Welfare of handicapped persons	3	16	3	22
Prevention and treatment of addictions	-	1	1	2
Housing	-	1	1	2
Correction	-	-	-	-
Social relief	-	5	2	7
Other single service	1	2	-	3
Combined services	7	18	7	32
Unable to answer	-	-	1	1
DK	-	2	6	8
All	12	70	32	114

Activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting are shown in Table 23 in relation to the types of services under which the respondent agencies were classified.

A very small proportion (just over 10%) of the 114 respondent agencies had engaged in activities related to Coloured squatting during 1982. Of the 73 agencies that were classified under one single field of service, only five agencies (less than 7%) reported activities related to Coloured squatting.

In the category of agencies that were classified as offering a combination of services spanning various welfare fields, a larger proportion had been engaged in services related to Coloured squatting (seven of the 32, or close on 22%), i.e. the more diversified agencies were responsible for most of the work done in relation to Coloured squatting.

TABLE 24

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
availability of service to the Coloured population group

Group served	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
Coloured group served	12	38	10	60
Coloured group not served	-	31	10	41
Unable to answer	-	-	1	1
DK	-	1	11	12
All	12	70	32	114

Of the 41 agencies that served non-Coloured clients, none had responded in any way to Coloured squatting during 1982 (see Table 24). This means that they had, as might have been predicted, not offered direct services to Coloured squatters and that they had also not been involved in indirect ways, such as by attendance at conferences on the matter or by providing information on Coloured squatting.

Twelve of the 60 agencies that did include the Coloured group in their clientele had, in one way or another, been involved.

TABLE 25

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinion on need for intervention
and
opinion on who should be involved in intervention

Agency opinion on actors in intervention	Agency opinion on need for intervention					
	Needed	Not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, business sector, and State authorities	17	-	-	-	1	18
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authori- ties but excluding the business sector	10	1	1	-	-	12
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding social welfare organisations	7	-	-	-	-	7
Category D Other combinations including State authorities	7	2	-	-	-	9
Category E: Various other choices not including State	8	5	-	-	-	13
Unable to answer	-	-	15	-	1	16
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	2	1	-	-	34	37
All	51	9	16	2	36	114

Table 25 relates opinions on need for intervention to opinions on who should be involved as actors in intervention. Respondents who were of the opinion that intervention in squatting was needed gave strong support to the inclusion of State authorities in intervention (41 out of 49 responses, 84%).

Of the nine respondents who had said that intervention was not needed, eight nevertheless answered the question on who should be involved and, of these, three gave support to State involvement.

The remaining five respondents who had said that intervention was not needed chose only sectors other than the State. Their choices were Coloured leaders, Coloured squatters, social welfare organisations, and combinations of these three. That is, not only did they exclude the central and local government but also the general public, the business sector, and the religious leaders.

It is significant that all but one of the respondents who favoured non-intervention went on to say who should be involved in intervention. This suggests that it was perhaps not "intervention" per se that they objected to but rather a particular kind of intervention. Unfortunately there is little in the questionnaire to throw light on the matter except, in one case, a comment to the effect that it was White intervention that was considered objectionable. The reason given was that assistance from the White group would have the effect of retarding the development of self-help skills in the Coloured group. The respondent in question represented an agency serving White clients only.

It is perhaps also significant that, of the nine respondents favouring non-intervention, six represented "Whites only" agencies. When it is remembered that of the 101 agencies that gave information on population group served, 39 (fewer than one-third) served White clients only, the proportion is more striking. (See Table 4 in Chapter 7.)

The responses of those who said that intervention was needed and who included the State in their combinations of choices, were divided as follows: seventeen of the 42 (40%) included Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and the business sector; ten respondents (24%) included Coloured leaders and social welfare organisations but not the business

sector; seven respondents (17%) included Coloured leaders but excluded social welfare organisations and the business sector, and the remaining eight respondents suggested still other combinations together with the State.

TABLE 26

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinion on need for intervention
and
opinion on need for co-ordination

Agency opinion on need for co-ordination	Agency opinion on need for intervention					All
	Needed	Not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	
Needed	47	4	-	-	1	52
Not needed	1	3	-	-	-	4
Unable to answer	-	1	16	-	1	18
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	3	1	-	-	34	38
All	51	9	16	2	36	114

Table 26 relates opinions on need for intervention to opinions on need for co-ordination. Out of 55 respondents who answered both questions, 47 respondents (85%) were in favour of both intervention and co-ordination.

One respondent felt that intervention was needed but not co-ordination. It is possible that this one respondent thought of co-ordination as something imposed from above and, therefore, undesirable. The author's reason for suggesting this is that the respondent in question wrote elsewhere in the questionnaire, "Let them be given the freedom to live and work where they want".

Rather surprisingly, four of those who had said that intervention was not needed, said that there was a need for co-ordination. In three of these

cases, their comments, some of which were made in response to another question, might throw some light on this apparent contradiction in their answers. One of the respondents wrote: "This is not really applicable to us, as we are not involved in the problem. I answered 'yes' because as a general principle it is always better to have co-ordinated rather than isolated effort". One may conclude from this that the respondent was not familiar with the subject but tried in any case to give a fair answer based on his or her available knowledge.

Another respondent who answered "no" to intervention but said "yes" to co-ordination, suggested that only the central government and local authorities should be involved in squatter intervention and that co-ordination should be the responsibility of the State Department of Health and Welfare. Since this respondent had said that intervention was not needed, but nevertheless said that State authorities should be the actors in squatter intervention, one may assume that the respondent was of the opinion that what was already being done by the State was appropriate and sufficient.

Comment from another respondent previously mentioned, provides further insight into possible reasons for the "no" responses in these questions. This respondent (from an agency serving White clients only) had said "no" to both intervention and co-ordination and had subsequently commented: "Die nie-blanke bevolking sal nie kan leer om onafhanklik te funksioneer indien daar voortdurende Blanke hulp en bystand gelever word nie."¹ Clearly, respondents' reasons for saying "no" varied greatly in both questions.

TABLE 27

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinion on need for intervention
and
opinion on who should co-ordinate

Agency opinion on co-ordinators	Agency opinion on need for intervention					
	Needed	Not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
State authorities only	14	1	-	-	1	16
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> State authorities and Coloured leaders	8	1	-	-	-	9
Combinations including State authorities but excluding Coloured leaders	5	-	-	-	-	5
Various actors but not including State	12	1	-	-	-	13
Not applicable	1	3	-	-	-	4
Unable to answer	3	1	15	-	1	20
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	8	2	1	-	34	45
All	51	9	16	2	36	114

Concerning the question on who should co-ordinate intervention, no specific patterns could be discerned in the responses of those who were in favour of intervention and those not in favour (see Table 27). The number of agencies not in favour of intervention was so small that no useful comparisons could be made.

TABLE 28

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
opinions on need for intervention

Opinion on intervention	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
Needed	12	38	1	51
Not needed	-	8	1	9
Unable to answer	-	11	5	16
Prefer not to answer	-	1	1	2
DK	-	12	24	36
All	12	70	32	114

As could be expected, all 12 agencies that had been involved in work related to Coloured squatting in 1982 expressed the opinion that intervention in Coloured squatting was needed. Similarly, it comes as no surprise that eight agencies which had not been involved in such work had said that intervention was not needed. There were, however, also 38 respondents whose opinion was that intervention was needed, but who had not been actively involved. (See Table 28.)

The following Lists, numbered XVII to XXI, contain further particulars concerning these 38 respondents.

LIST XVII

38 agencies favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to service rendered to Coloured population group.

Coloured group served	38 agencies
Yes	24
No	14

LIST XVIII

24 agencies serving the Coloured group and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as actors in intervention.

Opinion on social welfare organisations as actors	24 agencies serving Coloured group
Yes	15
No	9

LIST XIX

24 agencies serving the Coloured group and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as co-ordinators of intervention

Opinion on social welfare organisations as co-ordinators	24 agencies serving Coloured group
Yes	7
No	17

LIST XX

14 agencies serving non-Coloured groups and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as actors in intervention

Opinion on social welfare organisations as actors	14 agencies serving non-Coloured groups
Yes	8
No	6

LIST XXI

14 agencies serving non-Coloured groups and favouring squatter intervention but not involved in intervention, classified according to opinion on inclusion of social welfare organisations as co-ordinators of intervention

Opinion on social welfare organisations as co-ordinators	14 agencies serving non-Coloured groups
Yes	4
No	10

Of the 38 respondents mentioned above, 24 served Coloured clients and 14 did not. Opinions in favour of including social welfare organisations as actors in squatter intervention were slightly higher amongst agencies serving Coloured clients (15 out of 24; 63%) than in the other agencies (8 out of 14; 57%). In respect of the co-ordinating role, both groups of agencies gave 29% support to social welfare organisations. One wonders, particularly in respect of the agencies serving the Coloured group, at the possible psychological stress occasioned by the disparity between attitude and action.

TABLE 29

Distribution of respondent agencies
 according to
opinion on need for co-ordination
 and
opinion on what constitutes helpful intervention

Opinion on helpful intervention	Agency opinion on need for co-ordination					
	Needed	Not needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
<u>Single intervention:</u>						
Housing	14	-	-	-	-	14
Other than housing	6	-	-	-	-	6
<u>Combined interventions:</u>						
Including housing	13	-	-	-	-	13
Not including housing	9	1	-	-	1	11
Not applicable	4	3	1	-	1	9
Unable to answer	2	-	16	-	1	19
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	4	-	1	-	35	40
All	52	4	18	2	38	114

TABLE 30

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on who should co-ordinate
and
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention

Opinion on helpful intervention	Opinions on who should co-ordinate								
	State authori- ties only	Combinations inc.inter alia State and Coloured leaders	Combinations inc.State but exc.Coloured Leaders	Various actors but not inc. State	Not applic- able	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
<u>Single intervention:</u>									
Housing	3	3	2	4	-	1	-	1	14
Other than housing	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	6
<u>Combined interventions:</u>									
Including housing	4	3	2	1	-	1	-	2	13
Not including housing	3	2	1	3	1	-	-	1	11
Not applicable	1	1	-	1	3	1	-	2	9
Unable to answer	1	-	-	1	-	15	-	2	19
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	37	40
All	16	9	5	13	4	20	2	45	114

Table 29 combines opinions on need for co-ordination with opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention. There is nothing to indicate an association between the two. Similarly, in Table 30, opinions on who should co-ordinate appear to bear no relationship to opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention.

TABLE 31

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention

Opinion on helpful intervention	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
<u>Single intervention:</u>				
Housing	8	6	-	14
Other than housing	1	5	-	6
<u>Combined intervention</u>				
including housing	-	13	-	13
not including housing	2	8	1	11
Not applicable	-	8	1	9
Unable to answer	-	14	5	19
Prefer not to answer	-	1	1	2
DK	1	15	24	40
All	12	70	32	114

Table 31 combines answers to questions on whether agencies had undertaken work related to Coloured squatting in 1982 and agency opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention. Eleven agencies that had done work related to Coloured squatting answered the question on intervention and, of these, eight (73%) suggested interventions related directly to housing.

Thirty-two agencies that had not done work related to Coloured squatting replied to this question and, of these, nineteen (59%) suggested similar interventions.

Although these percentages being based on such small totals do not reflect accurate proportions, they do indicate differences in opinion. That is, agencies that were not involved in Coloured squatting made more choices from categories other than housing. Perhaps respondents whose work took them closer to the squatter situation were more acutely aware of the dire need for adequate accommodation or, conversely, had become involved in squatter intervention as a result of their greater awareness of the housing position. A third possibility is that respondents who were not in any way involved in work related to Coloured squatting protected their equilibrium by not giving full recognition to the extent of the Coloured housing shortage and its effects.

TABLE 32

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on what constitutes helpful intervention
and
opinions on who should be involved in intervention

Opinion on Actors in intervention	Opinion on helpful intervention								
	Housing	Single inter- vention excl. housing	Combined inter- vention incl. housing	Combined inter- vention excl. housing	Not applic- able	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, business sector, and State authorities	5	2	4	3	-	-	-	4	18
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the business sector	4	-	2	4	1	1	-	-	12
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authori- ties but excluding social welfare organisations	1	-	4	1	-	1	-	-	7
Category D: Other combinations including State authorities	2	2	3	-	1	1	-	-	9
Category E: Various other choices not including State	2	1	-	2	6	1	-	1	13
Unable to answer	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	1	16
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	34	37
All	14	6	13	11	9	19	2	40	114

The figures in the cells of Table 32 are small and the distribution is rather scattered. Nothing therefore stands out very prominently but, despite the small numbers, the following features are of interest.

Those who favoured combined interventions tended to exclude social welfare organisations whilst including Coloured leaders and State authorities (i.e. chose Category C) more frequently than did those favouring single interventions. At the same time, Category C attracted rather more of the choices of those respondents who felt that "housing" must in one way or another be included as part of the intervention. However, overall, Category C was chosen less often than any other single category. One may tentatively conclude that social welfare organisations were not expected to take a major role in "housing" itself but were expected to offer supporting services to complement those of a variety of other actors in squatter intervention.

Another interesting point is that 17 respondents who had not given an answer in the question on what would constitute helpful intervention, did express an opinion on who should take interventive action. Of the 17, eight chose Category E (the only category that excluded the State). Further, six of these eight respondents had previously expressed the opinion that intervention in Coloured squatting was not needed. Hence, it seems that the preference expressed for non-intervention by these six respondents had been related to intervention by the State. Possibly, the concept "intervention" was, for them, linked with certain State activities that they saw as being unhelpful to the squatters.

The data in Table 33 reveal no correspondence between opinions on the need for co-ordination and opinions on who should be involved in squatter intervention. The number of respondents who said that co-ordination was not needed was too small to make comparisons.

TABLE 33

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on need for co-ordination
and
opinions on who should be involved in interventions

Opinion on actors in intervention	Opinion on need for co-ordination					
	Needed	Not Needed	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer	DK	All
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, business sector, and State authorities	17	-	-	-	1	18
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authori- ties but excluding the business sector	10	1	1	-	-	12
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding social welfare organisations	6	1	-	-	-	7
Category D: Other combinations including State authorities	8	-	-	-	1	9
Category E: Various other choices not including State	10	1	1	-	1	13
Unable to answer	-	-	16	-	-	16
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	2	-	2
DK	1	1	-	-	35	37
All	52	4	18	2	38	114

TABLE 34

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
opinions on who should co-ordinate
and
opinions on who should be involved in interventions

Opinion on actors in intervention	Opinions on who should co-ordinate								DK	All
	State authori- ties only	Combinations inc. <u>inter alia</u> State and Coloured leaders	Combinations inc. State but exc. Coloured leaders	Various actors but not inc. State	Not applic- able	Unable to answer	Prefer not to answer			
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisa- tions, business sector, and State authorities	4	1	4	6	-	-	-	3	18	
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured lead- ers, social welfare organi- sations, and State authorities but excluding the business sector	3	3	-	3	1	1	-	1	12	
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured lead- ers and State authoriti- ties but excluding social welfare organisations	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	
Category D: Other combinations including State authori- ties	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	9	
Category E: Various other choices not including State	4	1	-	3	1	1	-	3	13	
Unable to answer	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	16	
Prefer not to answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	
DK	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	35	37	
All	16	9	5	13	4	20	2	45	114	

TABLE 35

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
opinions on who should be involved in interventions

Opinion on parties to be involved	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
Category A: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, business sector and State authorities	5	13	-	18
Category B: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the business sector	1	11	-	12
Category C: Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> Coloured leaders and State authorities but excluding social welfare organisations	1	6	-	7
Category D: Other combinations including State authorities	2	6	1	9
Category E: Various other choices not including State	2	10	1	13
Unable to answer	-	11	5	16
Prefer not to answer	-	1	1	2
DK	1	12	24	37
All	12	70	32	114

No clear pattern emerged in Table 34 between opinions concerning who should co-ordinate, and opinions concerning who should be involved in intervention. Two points, however, are of interest. The first is that respondents who had included State authorities in their choices of desirable actors in intervention (Categories A to D), did not in all cases include them in their choices of desirable co-ordinators. Of the 35 respondents who had suggested State for intervention, ten (28%) chose co-ordinators other than the State. The second point is that those who had not mentioned the State as possible actors in squatter intervention (Category E), actually chose State authorities as co-ordinators more often than non-State bodies (five out of eight responses).

Agencies that had undertaken work related to Coloured squatting during 1982 chose Category A proportionately more often and chose Category B proportionately less often than did agencies that had not undertaken such work. In the remaining categories the choices were, proportionately, roughly the same. The difference between Categories A and B is that, whereas both include Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authorities, Category A includes also the business sector but Category B does not. Hence, the difference in the responses shows that agencies involved in squatter intervention favoured the inclusion of the business sector more often than did the "non-involved" agencies (see Table 35).

TABLE 36

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
opinions on need for co-ordination

Opinions on co-ordination	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
Needed	12	39	1	52
Not needed	-	4	-	4
Unable to answer	-	13	5	18
Prefer not to answer	-	1	1	2
DK	-	13	25	38
All	12	70	32	114

All the agencies that had been involved in squatter intervention were of the opinion that co-ordination of intervention was needed. Out of a total of 70 agencies that had not been involved in squatter intervention, 39 said that co-ordination was needed, four said it was not needed, and 27 did not answer the question. It may be that some respondents from the "non-involved" agencies lacked practical examples on which to base their opinions concerning the need for co-ordination. (See Table 36.)

TABLE 37

Distribution of respondent agencies
according to
activities undertaken in relation
to Coloured squatting in 1982
and
opinions on who should co-ordinate

Opinion on co-ordinators	Activities			
	Yes	No	DK	All
State authorities only	2	13	1	16
Combinations including <u>inter alia</u> State authorities and Coloured leaders	2	7	-	9
Combinations including State authorities but excluding Coloured leaders	1	4	-	5
Various actors but not including State	4	9	-	13
Not applicable	-	4	-	4
Unable to answer	1	14	5	20
Prefer not to answer	-	1	1	2
DK	2	18	25	45
All	12	70	32	114

Table 37 reflects opinions on who should co-ordinate, expressed by respondents who did, and those who did not, engage in activities related to Coloured squatting.

The question concerning who should be responsible for the co-ordination was apparently not an easy one to answer. Although 51 respondents had advocated co-ordination, only 42 expressed an opinion on who should be responsible for it.

Of the 12 agencies that had been involved in squatter intervention, nine answered the question. Four of these chose actors other than the State as co-ordinators, two suggested that the State should be the sole

co-ordinator, and two preferred combinations of actors including both the State and the Coloured leaders. Only one excluded the Coloured leaders. Proportionately, the agencies that had been involved in squatter intervention gave more backing to actors other than the State (four out of nine responses, 44%) than did the agencies that had not been thus involved (nine out of 33 responses, 27%). The "involved" agencies also gave less backing to the State as sole co-ordinator (two out of nine responses, 22%) than did the "non-involved" agencies (13 out of 33 responses, 39%).

The calculation of percentages here, especially in the case of the "involved" agencies, rests on totals that are really too small for meaningful comparison. Nevertheless, they give an indication of differences in the opinions expressed by the two groups of agencies.

In respect of choices that combined the State and Coloured leaders as joint co-ordinators, and choices involving combinations of various other bodies together with State authorities, there was proportionately very little difference between the "involved" and the "non-involved" agencies.

The 12 "involved" agencies' responses are further dealt with in Chapter 9.

NOTES

ON CHAPTER 8

1. The non-White population will not learn to function independently if White help and support is continually provided. (Author's translation.)

CHAPTER 9

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA DERIVED FROM PART II OF THE QUESTION- NAIRE: TABLES AND RELATED COMMENTS

Part II of the questionnaire was designed for agencies that had undertaken activities related to Coloured squatting in 1982. Twelve agencies reported having done so (see Table 11 in Chapter 7) but only nine of these answered some or all of the questions in Part II of the questionnaire. This Chapter covers, first, the activities reported by the 12 agencies in respect of their work in the field of Coloured squatting and, secondly, the responses of the remaining nine agencies to the second part of the questionnaire. The number being so small, univariate Tables were drawn up for only those responses that seemed to warrant them. Bivariate Tables would have handled the data clumsily. Therefore, associations between variables are discussed as individual instances. Lists are used to amplify the data.

List XXII provides details of the activities reported by the above-mentioned 12 agencies in respect of their work in the field of Coloured squatting. This list amplifies the data contained in Table 11 (Chapter 7).

LIST XXII

39 statements concerning activities undertaken by 12 respondent agencies in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982.

Activities	39 statements
Counselling	8
Group activities	1
Community based programmes	-
New resources	2
Informing squatters on services	7
Assisting squatters to use services	4
Disseminating information on squatting	3
Conferences	3
Pressure groups	1
Co-ordinating	5
Social relief	3
Facilitating research	1
Providing rehabilitative services	1

Eight of the 12 agencies had provided counselling services to individual squatters. Seven had given information to squatters about existing services. The remaining activities shown in the List had been undertaken by fewer than half of the agencies. None reported having been involved in community based programmes in squatter communities.

LIST XXIII

12 respondent agencies classified according to the number of different types of activities undertaken in relation to Coloured squatting in 1982.

Number of different activities	12 agencies
One	3
Two	4
Three	1
Four	2
Five	-
Six	-
Seven	2
More than seven	-

List XXIII reflects the number of different types of activities each agency had been involved in. Two agencies had engaged in seven of the 13 activities mentioned in the previous List. Another two had been involved in four activities. The remaining eight agencies had undertaken three or fewer than three activities.

An agency which provided only counselling to individual squatters gave the information that its service was available to "squatters who are disabled, the disability being the difficulty, not the squatting". Hence, not all of the 12 agencies were specifically concerned with squatting. This type of information was contained also in some of the other returns. The respondent just mentioned did not complete the rest of the items in the questionnaire but gave the following explanation: "as organisation not rendering services to squatters generally, Section II of the questionnaire is not applicable".

There were two other respondents who did not answer any questions in Part II. The first of these said "squatters regularly approach our society for food, clothing and blankets which are freely given". Apart from thus rendering social relief to individual squatters, the agency had not

been involved with Coloured squatting and did not respond to the remaining questions.

The second agency had provided information to squatters about existing services. Its field of service was therapeutic recreation. Coloured squatting as such appears, therefore, to have been extrinsic to its concern. Part II of the questionnaire was not filled in.

The nine remaining agencies had answered some or all of the questions in Part II but these too could not be presumed to have been working in the general field of Coloured squatting.

The service field of one of these was care of the mentally handicapped. Its activities with squatters involved individual counselling and provision of information on services. It acted also in an advocacy role, approaching local authorities on behalf of its squatter clients. The respondent wrote:-

Where mentally handicapped persons' lives are at risk due to living circumstances, especially where they suffer from illness such as T.B. or Asthma, this agency liaises with local housing authorities to provide suitable housing as an urgent priority.

Its staff included 15 full-time and three part-time social workers.

Another agency specified that it provided casework services to physically handicapped squatters. However, the respondent added, "die organisasie het net te doen met die fisies gestremde in wettige plakkers gebiede".¹

That is, this agency's involvement was circumscribed not only by its specific field of service but also by its selection of clientele from legally recognised squatter camps. This agency too, had initiated contact with local authorities on behalf of squatters. Two full-time social workers were on its staff.

An organisation concerned with the social welfare needs of hospital patients provided the information, in respect of its crisis work with Coloured squatters, that it was "helping with food and blankets and clothing during the winter months" and, in respect of its ongoing work, "we see them on and off when they bring their children for treatment at O.P.D. or they come in for moral support themselves".

This organisation, although attached to a hospital, and therefore not primarily working in the field of Coloured squatting, nevertheless evidenced a deep concern about the squatter situation. It had undertaken all of the following activities with squatters and in relation to squatting.

Counselling services.

Assistance which enabled squatters to use existing services.

Organisation of or participation in conferences.

Co-ordination with other organisations.

The agency was in contact with local authorities and with religious leaders on behalf of squatters. It was staffed by only two members, both of whom were voluntary part-time workers. No social workers were employed.

The involvement of two other agencies in Coloured squatting was confined to the provision of night shelters for vagrants, and activities related to a specific concern for the accommodation-needs of single Coloured persons who were not vagrants. Their involvement in these aspects of Coloured homelessness appears to have been extensive as they each reported having been engaged in a variety of such activities, and they had established links with many different social groups and sectors. One of these agencies had employed twelve full-time and two part-time social workers. The other had only two part-time social workers on its staff.

Another agency was specifically concerned with the welfare needs of the aged. It had engaged in work related to Coloured squatting through organisation of, or participation in, conferences and through co-ordination with other organisations. It reported having established links with businessmen, professional people, and local authorities regarding squatters.

Aside from this information, there was insufficient detail to enable one to gauge the extent of its involvement in the squatter situation. This agency employed eleven full-time social workers.

The work of all the agencies mentioned thus far in this section can be said to have been a response to individual squatters' needs or to the needs of a distinctive sub-group in the squatter population: the aged, the physically handicapped, and so on.

There remain three agencies that have not been discussed. These three appear to have been involved with squatting on a broader level than the agencies described above. Their fields of service encompassed

child welfare (all three agencies),
social relief (all three agencies),
marital counselling (two agencies),
family welfare (two agencies),
care of the aged (two agencies), and
provision of housing (two agencies).

The activities engaged in by one of them with regard to squatting were:-

- (a) Counselling,
- (b) arranging group activities,
- (c) attracting new resources,
- (d) informing squatters about existing services,
- (e) assisting squatters to use services, e.g. by providing transport,
- (f) disseminating information on squatting to the public or to authorities,
- (g) co-ordinating activities with other organisations, and
- (h) general social relief.

The second agency had provided services mentioned in (a), (d), and (h) above, and the third agency had provided services in (a) and (g).

The levels at which intervention took place were, in the case of the first agency:-

- (a) Direct work with squatters,
- (b) work with leaders in squatter communities,
- (c) work with volunteers and interested persons other than squatters,
- (d) contact with professional people,
- (e) contact with religious leaders,
- (f) contact with local authorities.

In the case of the second and third agencies the levels were, respectively, contact with the business sector and with (a) of the above, and contact with (c) and (e).

In respect of employment of social workers, the agencies gave the following information.

Agency 1: 35 full-time workers and 12 part-time workers.

Agency 2: Nine full-time workers and one part-time worker.

Agency 3: Two full-time workers.

The following Lists and Tables cover the responses in Part II of the questionnaire from the nine agencies discussed above.

LIST XXIV

33 statements concerning intervention at various social levels undertaken by 9 respondent agencies.

Levels	33 instances of intervention at various levels
squatters	7
squatter leaders	1
volunteers	5
business sector	3
professions	4
religious leaders	5
local authorities	6
central government	2

List XXIV gives a distribution of work done at different levels of intervention. It is interesting to note that only one of the nine agencies had actually been involved with leaders in the squatter communities whereas seven of these nine had previously advocated that squatter leaders should be involved in the interventive effort. Clearly, ideals and reality did not necessarily coincide.

TABLE 38

Distribution of agencies that responded
to Coloured squatting in 1982
 according to
nature of work

Nature of work	All agencies
Ongoing	4
Crisis	2
Combination of both	3
All work	9

Table 38 shows the distribution between agencies doing ongoing work with squatters, those that included some crisis work, and those responding to squatting only in relation to specific crises. Health crises and the lack of basic necessities such as food, clothing, and blankets were mentioned. The two "crisis" agencies, however, were not geared to intervene in squatter crises as such but, rather, to render services to individual squatters whom they happened to encounter in the normal course of their work, which entailed, in the one agency, care of the mentally handicapped and, in the other, assistance to the in-patients and out-patients of a hospital.

TABLE 39

Distribution of agencies that responded
to Coloured squatting in 1982
 according to
awareness of difficulties

Difficulties known	All agencies
Yes	4
No	4
DK	1
All	9

Respondents were asked whether they knew of any difficulties that were specific to work in the field of Coloured squatting (see Table 39). From the four respondents who answered "yes" to this question the following views were obtained:-

Very difficult to sustain any form of decent living standard when being harassed by authorities.

Law enforcement /with reference to illegal squatting/ ... alleviates neither the person's nor society's problem.

Difficult to plan because of temporary nature of accommodation.

No alternatives to offer.

Higher incidence of health problems, especially amongst children.

Poor general health--e.g. Down Syndrome persons particularly at risk.

TABLE 40

Distribution of agencies that responded
to Coloured squatting in 1982
 according to
employment of social workers

Social workers employed	All agencies
Full-time and part-time	4
Full-time only	3
Part-time only	1
None employed	1
All	9

With the exception of one agency (see Table 40), all had employed social workers. ("Social workers" here means professional social workers who are registered with the Council for Social and Associated Workers.)

TABLE 41

Distribution of agencies that responded
to Coloured squatting in 1982
 according to
social workers' participation
in responses to Coloured squatting

Social workers' participation	All agencies
Social workers employed and participating	4
Social workers employed but not participating	3
No social workers employed	1
DK	1
All	9

Respondents were asked whether any of the social workers they had employed during 1982 had participated in the activities undertaken by the agency in relation to Coloured squatting (see Table 41). In only four agencies had this been the case. One agency had not employed social workers; another did not answer this question. Three agencies had employed social workers who had, however, not been involved with squatting. Two of these agencies had each employed two social workers and the third agency had employed eleven. That is, out of the nine agencies, only four agencies (or at most five, if the "DK" respondent is included) had involved its social work staff in work related to Coloured squatting.

LIST XXV

14 statements by 7 agencies concerning social work methods used in activities related to Coloured squatting.

Method used	All 14 statements
Casework	7
Groupwork	1
Community work	3
Social work research	1
None used (no social worker employed)	1
None used (social workers employed but not participating)	1

TABLE 42

Distribution of agencies that responded
to Coloured squatting in 1982
 according to
opinion on usefulness of social work methods

Opinion	All agencies
All methods equally useful	5
Not all equally useful	1
No answer (No social worker employed)	1
No answer (Social worker employed but not participating)	1
DK	1
All	9

List XXV and Table 42 reflect the social work methods used and opinions on the usefulness of all social work methods in work related to Coloured squatting. Seven of the agencies said which of the methods they had used and six stated whether or not they considered all social work methods equally useful in the field of Coloured squatting.

Of the seven agencies stating methods used, all had used casework, three had also used community work, one groupwork, and one social work research. Of the two agencies that had not responded to the question, one had no social workers on its staff and the other had not involved its social workers in squatter intervention.

Five out of six respondents stated that they considered all social work methods equally useful. One said they were not equally useful. There was one "DK", and the other non-responses were from the two agencies where social workers had not been (i) employed and (ii) employed but not involved.

Only three respondents said which method or methods they considered to be the most useful in the field of Coloured squatting. Their responses were distributed as follows:-

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Methods used</u>	<u>Methods preferred</u>
(A)	casework community work social work research	community work--"if a degree of co-operation with the State exists, e.g. allocation of land"
(B)	casework	community work
(C)	casework	social work research community work.

The two agencies using casework only had actually said that they considered all methods to be equally useful but, when asked their preference, they had chosen community work and research.

Presumably the individual respondents' preferences did not always coincide with the methods used by their agencies. This is possibly also the reason why some of the respondents left the question unanswered. No doubt, the fact that most (if not all) of the agencies were not primarily concerned with squatting has bearing on the method used, which was predominantly casework (see List XXV).

In the case of four of the nine agencies, squatting itself was clearly not the focus of their activities although they had responded to the needs of individual squatters who fell within the ambit of their field of service-rendering.

Two of them had responded to the accommodation-needs of single Coloured individuals, particularly vagrants. The remaining three were not specialist agencies and could, therefore, have responded to Coloured squatting as an area of social concern and not merely as a factor impinging on the lives of a limited number of their clients. But this is conjecture. The fact is that three, two, one, or none at all had responded to squatting as a phenomenon in itself.

NOTES

ON CHAPTER 9

1. This organisation only deals with the physically handicapped in legal squatter areas. (Author's translation.)

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The questions addressed in this research were: (a) to what extent had voluntary welfare agencies in Greater Cape Town been involved during 1982 in work concerning Coloured squatting, and (b) what opinions were held by the agencies concerning aspects of intervention in Coloured squatting.

Nine out of 114 agencies had responded to the needs of individual squatters and homeless persons among restricted client groups such as the aged or the handicapped. Three of the 114, in addition to providing a wider variety of services to squatters than did the nine above, had rendered an indirect service through, for instance, the dissemination of information about squatting. Hence, of at most three agencies could it be said that they had responded to Coloured squatting as a phenomenon.

Although 41 out of 59 agencies that had made recommendations concerning appropriate actors in squatter intervention had named Coloured leaders for this role, only one of the agencies working with squatters had established contact with leaders in squatter communities.

Professional social workers in the agencies serving Coloured squatters had been involved in this work in four of the agencies.

Only two of the 114 agencies had classified themselves under the category "housing" and neither of these had been involved in any way in work related to Coloured squatting. This ratio of agencies concerned specifically with housing is similar to that reported by Helm in 1959 who found that, of all voluntary welfare agencies operating in Greater Cape Town at that date, two per cent had addressed themselves specifically to the social problem she named "lack of shelter" (1959, Table 7, 20). Thus, although housing is a fundamental human need, voluntary welfare agencies and the social workers in their employ apparently give it low priority in their service rendering.

A striking feature of the research was the high number of respondents who said that they were insufficiently informed on Coloured squatting to be in a

position to answer any of the opinion questions on the subject. Together with the two respondents who preferred, for political reasons, not to answer they accounted for 18 of the respondent agencies. It is unlikely that the "non-informed" were represented more often among the respondents than the non-respondents. Similarly, it is unlikely that those who had been active in the field of Coloured squatting were more often represented among the non-respondents than among those who did respond. There is little ground, therefore, for suggesting that a relationship exists between voluntary welfare agencies in Cape Town and Coloured squatting, except in isolated instances.

Chapter 3 reported on certain responses made to the Coloured squatter situation by, inter alia, Central and local authorities, religious leaders, business, commerce and industry, and the welfare sector. Although no exhaustive research of the literature was undertaken for this purpose, the fact that very little could be found on the role of voluntary welfare agencies in Cape Town with reference to Coloured squatting seemed to suggest a minimal involvement on their part. The research has confirmed this impression.

Despite this minimal involvement, 47 out of 55 agencies that responded to the questions on whether intervention and co-ordination were needed replied to both questions in the affirmative. Moreover, in respect of who should be involved, 41 out of 59 respondents to the question said that social welfare organisations should be involved in intervention, and nine out of 69 respondents said they should act in the role of co-ordinator. In both cases, the majority of these respondents suggested a joint effort of voluntary welfare organisations with other actors.

There were many differentiating characteristics among welfare agencies that were accompanied by differential response rates. Analysis of the intervening variables would have been essential if a causal relationship had been investigated in this research. For the present survey, however, they were not of primary significance and were not pursued. Germane to the present survey were the differences that emerged from a comparison of responses among agencies serving the Coloured population group and those not serving this group. Notably, their response rates for the opinion questions differed, i.e. 56% for the "Coloured" agencies and 38% for the "non-Coloured"

agencies. Differences in the opinions expressed by each group with regard to 11 of the issues are reported below. Where the difference was less than 10%, it has not been reported because it was felt that, given the small totals on which the percentages are based, a difference smaller than 10% would really not carry much weight.

Agencies serving the Coloured group expressed proportionately more support than did the "non-Coloured" agencies for:-

- (i) The need for intervention in Coloured squatting;
- (ii) the need for providing "housing and related services" as part of squatter intervention;
- (iii) combined action on the part of, inter alia, the following in squatter intervention: Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, the business sector, and the State authorities (Category A); but also
- (iv) combinations including the Coloured leaders and the State authorities whilst excluding the social welfare organisations (Category C) -- this Category, however, was given one-third of the support given to Category A;
- (v) sole co-ordination by State authorities; and also
- (vi) co-ordination by actors including the State but excluding the Coloured leaders.

Local authorities were chosen by these agencies with greater frequency for the role of co-ordinator than was any other single actor.

Agencies not serving Coloured clients expressed proportionately more support than did the Coloured agencies for:-

- (i) Types of intervention other than "housing and related services";
- (ii) combined action on the part of, inter alia, the following in squatter intervention: Coloured leaders, social welfare organisations, and State authorities but excluding the business sector (Category B); and also
- (iii) combinations of actors which exclude the State authorities (Category E) -- Categories B and E were given roughly equal support;
- (iv) co-ordinators including inter alia State authorities and Coloured leaders; but also
- (v) co-ordination by various actors excluding the State.

Among agencies serving the Coloured population group, the highest proportion of all choices for the role of actor in squatter intervention was given to Coloured leaders. This was followed closely by their choice of local authorities for that role. Their third highest choice was divided equally between social welfare organisations and the Central government. Among agencies not serving the Coloured group, the highest proportion of choices was equally divided between local authorities and social welfare organisations, followed closely by the selection of Coloured leaders as actors in intervention.

Opinions on who should co-ordinate were fairly evenly divided among the "non-Coloured" agencies but agencies serving the Coloured group gave priority to the local authorities for this role.

Thus, there were differences between these agencies in the priority given to each category as well as in the opinions concerning which categories of actors should work together. In addition, within the two groups of agencies, the roles envisaged for the chosen actors varied greatly and fundamental differences in political outlook were evident in some of the comments.

On the other hand, there was virtual consensus on certain issues of which the clearest were the need for intervention and co-ordination. There was considerable agreement on the preference expressed for combined action in intervention by various actors in combination with one another.

It would be of interest to know whether the categories of actors chosen in this research would be chosen in a similar order by each other; whether they would, in some cases, be chosen in the order preferred by the "Coloured" agencies and, in other cases, in the order chosen by the "non-Coloured" agencies; or whether the choices would differ from both of these. This, therefore, points to possible further research. Religious leaders were, for instance, infrequently chosen for roles in both intervention and co-ordination. Yet, as indicated in Chapter 3, they have been deeply concerned about, and actively involved in, the squatter situation. Is the choice reflected here peculiar to voluntary welfare organisations or would others, including the religious leaders themselves, give preference to the categories of actors more frequently chosen here?

Similarly, would Coloured squatter leaders choose themselves with greater or lesser frequency than was here the case? Would they be willing to take an active role in intervention? As one respondent wrote, "leaders would be very vulnerable and could get picked off".

"To co-ordinate will be difficult" in the present climate of "prejudices and lack of trust and goodwill" (as one agency put it). Even among voluntary welfare organisations such opposing views as "let them be given the freedom to live ... where they want" and "Coloureds from rural areas ... should be helped to return to their place of origin" were expressed.

The agency respondent who said that "welfare organisations do not have resources, funds, or legislative powers" expressed the powerless position of voluntary welfare agencies in relation to the magnitude of the squatter problem. This may well be the most crucial single factor responsible for the non-involvement of those Coloured agencies who advocated agency involvement, yet were not themselves involved. With State support the agencies would perhaps be able to work in ways which now they recommend but do not implement. The choice of method used by social workers could be affected by this too. As one respondent put it, "community work can be very useful if a degree of co-operation with the State exists" (author's emphasis).

"Leadership in rationalising urban development ultimately and essentially must come from the senior levels of government" was the conclusion reached by the Pre-Conference Working Party to the 13th International Conference of Social Work (1966,15). These authors added:-

Initiative, pressure and leadership must be expected--
also respected--from any level of government or from
any voluntary body in the private sector, again, at
any level (ibid.).

On a basis such as that described here, the voluntary welfare agencies would have a constructive role in the interventions they now advocate.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions were distributed with suitable spacing through eleven pages in the questionnaire which was bound in the form of an A5 booklet.

1. Which of the undermentioned categories represent the main service(s) your organisation offers?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. MARITAL COUNSELLING
2. FAMILY WELFARE
3. CHILD WELFARE
4. CARE OF THE AGED
5. CARE OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED
6. CARE OF THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED
7. PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF ALCOHOLISM
8. PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DEPENDENCE ON
SUBSTANCES OTHER THAN ALCOHOL
9. PROVISION OF HOUSING
10. CORRECTIVE SERVICES
11. SOCIAL RELIEF
12. OTHER SERVICES (please specify below)

2. Which of the undermentioned population groups does your organisation serve?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. INDIAN
2. COLOURED
3. WHITE
4. AFRICAN

3. In your opinion, is there a need for intervention in relation to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

4. If you answered "YES" in question 3, please state what type(s) of interventive activities you would consider to be helpful to Coloured squatters.

Please specify in the space provided below

5. What is your opinion regarding who should be involved in interventions concerning Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. LEADERS IN THE COLOURED SQUATTER COMMUNITIES
2. COLOURED SQUATTERS GENERALLY
3. THE GENERAL PUBLIC
4. SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANISATIONS
5. THE BUSINESS SECTOR
6. RELIGIOUS LEADERS
7. LOCAL AUTHORITIES
8. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
9. NO ONE
10. OTHER (Please specify below)

6. Do you feel that there is a need for overall co-ordination of interventive activities in relation to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

7. If you answered "YES" in question 6, please state who, or which types of organisations, or which sector should, in your opinion, take the major role in co-ordinating such activities.

8. Please comment here on the potential advantages and disadvantages, as you see them, of co-ordinating interventive actions in relation to Coloured squatting.

9. During 1982, which (if any) of the following activities related to Coloured squatting did your organisation undertake?

Please circle the applicable number or numbers.
activity engaged in:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 0 | NONE |
| 1 | PROVIDING COUNSELLING SERVICES TO INDIVIDUAL SQUATTERS |
| 2 | ORGANISING GROUP ACTIVITIES IN SQUATTER COMMUNITIES |
| 3 | ESTABLISHING OR MAINTAINING COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES |
| 4 | ATTRACTING NEW RESOURCES FOR AID TO SQUATTERS |
| 5 | INFORMING SQUATTERS ABOUT EXISTING SERVICES |
| 6 | ASSISTING SQUATTERS TO USE SERVICES (e.g. by providing transport to the nearest clinic) |
| 7 | DISSEMINATING INFORMATION ON SQUATTING TO THE PUBLIC OR TO AUTHORITIES |
| 8 | ORGANISING OF OR PARTICIPATING IN CONFERENCES ON COLOURED SQUATTING |
| 9 | FUNCTIONING AS CRITIC OR PRESSURE GROUP IN RELATION TO COLOURED SQUATTING |
| 10 | CO-ORDINATING ACTIVITIES WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN RELATION TO COLOURED SQUATTING |
| 11 | OTHER (please specify in the space provided below) |

If you answered "none" in question 9, please ignore the remaining questions and return this questionnaire in the envelope provided. The information and opinions you have given are greatly appreciated. Thank you for your co-operation.

All other respondents, please complete the remaining items in the questionnaire. The questions that follow require only short answers and should take no more than a further ten to fifteen minutes of your time.

10. Which of the following levels of intervention in respect of Coloured squatting was your organisation engaged in during 1982?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. DIRECT WORK WITH SQUATTERS
2. WORK WITH LEADERS IN SQUATTER COMMUNITIES
3. WORK WITH VOLUNTEERS AND INTERESTED PERSONS OTHER THAN SQUATTERS
4. CONTACT WITH BUSINESSMEN
5. CONTACT WITH PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE
6. CONTACT WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS
7. CONTACT WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES
8. CONTACT WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
9. OTHER (please specify below)

11. The activities which your organisation undertook with respect to Coloured squatting may have been of an ongoing nature or may have been in response to specific crises.

Please circle one of the numbers below to indicate which category is most applicable for the year 1982.

1. MAINLY (OR ONLY) ONGOING WORK
2. ABOUT EQUAL COMBINATION OF ONGOING WORK AND CRISIS WORK
3. MAINLY (OR ONLY) CRISIS WORK

12. If your organisation's work in relation to Coloured squatting was mainly (or only) crisis work, please name the major types of crises dealt with.

13. Do you know of any difficulties in the work related to Coloured squatting which are not experienced to the same extent in work related to other client groups?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

14. If your answer to question 13 was "YES", please specify the difficulty or difficulties here.

The remaining questions apply only to organisations employing registered social workers.

15. What was the average number of registered social workers employed full-time in your organisation in 1982?

Please state number in the space provided below

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME SOCIAL WORKERS:

16. What was the average number of registered social workers employed part-time in your organisation in 1982?

Please state number in the space provided below

NUMBER OF PART-TIME SOCIAL WORKERS:

17. Did any of the social workers in your organisation engage in the organisation's activities related to Coloured squatting in 1982?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

18. Which of the following categories represent the method(s) mainly used by the social workers in your organisation in activities related to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. CASEWORK
2. GROUPWORK
3. COMMUNITY WORK OR COMMUNITY ORGANISATION
4. SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH
5. SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION
6. OTHER (please specify below)

19. Do you consider all of these methods equally useful in work related to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

20. If you consider one or some of the methods more useful than some of the others, please name here the method or methods you consider most useful for work with Coloured squatters.

21. Please use this space to add any comments you may care to make in respect of any aspect of this questionnaire

Your contribution to this study is much appreciated.

Please note that your prompt return of this questionnaire is relied upon to permit the data contained herein to be included in the analysis.
A stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR THE FIRST
DRAFT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SHOWING, FOR
EACH QUESTION, THE FINAL FORM ADOPTED
AND PROVIDING COMMENT ON CHANGES MADE OR
REASONS FOR REJECTION

First draft of question 1

Which of the undermentioned social welfare services does your organisation offer?

In column one, please tick each type of service offered.

In column two, please tick the service mainly offered.

	Service type	Main Service
Marital, family, and child care		
Care of the aged		
Care of the physically handicapped		
Care of the mentally handicapped		
Prevention or treatment of alcoholism or of addiction to other dependence producing substances		
Housing		
Correction		
Social Relief		

Final form of this question

Which of the undermentioned categories represent the main service(s) your organisation offers?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. MARITAL COUNSELLING
2. FAMILY WELFARE
3. CHILD WELFARE
4. CARE OF THE AGED
5. CARE OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED
6. CARE OF THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED
7. PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF ALCOHOLISM
8. PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DEPENDENCE ON
SUBSTANCES OTHER THAN ALCOHOL
9. PROVISION OF HOUSING
10. CORRECTIVE SERVICES
11. SOCIAL RELIEF
12. OTHER SERVICES (please specify below)

Comment

- (a) Only the main services were asked for in the final form.
- (b) Categories that included several variables were divided into separate categories in the final form.
- (c) The addition of the category "OTHER SERVICES" made the new series open-ended.

First draft of question 2

Does your organisation offer services in relation to any of the following? Please tick the appropriate box or boxes.

Health	
Education	
Culture	
Sport or recreation	

Comment

This question was omitted after it had been decided to approach only those agencies that were, according to the records of the State departments, rendering social welfare services.

First draft of question 3

If your organisation offers services not covered by the categories named in questions 1 and 2 above, please name them here:

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

Comment

This question was replaced by the category "other services" in the final version of question 1.

First draft of question 3a

What population groups does your organisation serve?
Please tick in the appropriate box or boxes.

Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Coloured	<input type="checkbox"/>
White	<input type="checkbox"/>
African	<input type="checkbox"/>

Final form of the question (now numbered 2)

Which of the undermentioned population groups does
your organisation serve?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. INDIAN
2. COLOURED
3. WHITE
4. AFRICAN

Comment

No significant changes were made.

First draft of question 4

Which categories of staff does your organisation employ?
Please tick in the appropriate box or boxes.

Non professional welfare workers	<input type="checkbox"/>
professional social workers	<input type="checkbox"/>
pastoral counsellors	<input type="checkbox"/>
teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>
psychologists	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

This question was rejected because it introduced variables that were not really pertinent for the research.

First draft of question 5

How many professional social workers are employed on a full-time basis in your organisation? Please tick the appropriate box.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

First draft of question 6

How many professional social workers are employed on a part-time basis in your organisation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Final form of the questions (now numbered 15 and 16 respectively)

What was the average number of registered social workers employed full-time in your organisation in 1982?

Please state number in the space provided below

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME SOCIAL WORKERS:

What was the average number of registered social workers employed part-time in your organisation in 1982?

Please state number in the space provided below

NUMBER OF PART-TIME SOCIAL WORKERS:

Comment

Addition of the words "average number" and of the year-date served to prevent ambiguity.

First draft of question 7

Approximately how many volunteers did your organisation use in 1982?

Number of volunteers:

Comment

This question was rejected as it called for information that would not be directly relevant to the research.

First draft of question 8

In your opinion, is there a need for any action to be taken in relation to Coloured squatting?

YES	
NO	

Final form of the question (now numbered 3)

In your opinion, is there a need for intervention in relation to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

Comment

- (a) "Intervention" was used in place of "action" to avoid possible confusion with "social action".
- (b) Reversal of the "YES", "NO" sequence balanced out two response tendencies, i.e. to answer the first alternative more often and to answer "YES" more often.

First draft of question 9

What type or types of action would, in your opinion, be most helpful to Coloured squatters? Please specify here:

.....

Final form of the question (now numbered 4)

If you answered "YES" in question 3, please state what type(s) of interventive activities you would consider to be helpful to Coloured squatters.

Please specify in the space provided below

Comment

The words "interventive activities" were used in place of "action" to avoid possible confusion with "social action" which would have given the question a narrower meaning.

First draft of question 10

Do you anticipate that the need for action in relation to Coloured squatting will increase, remain approximately static, or decrease over the next ten years? Please tick in the appropriate box.

Increase substantially	
Increase somewhat	
Remain approximately static	
Decrease somewhat	
Decrease substantially	

Comment

There were several reasons for the decision to reject this question:-

- (a) It seemed to be a potentially contaminating question, i.e. if a respondent had replied that Coloured squatting could be expected to "increase substantially", he might subsequently have felt obliged to answer the question on who should be involved in intervention by saying that a great many different bodies should be involved;
- (b) The categories in the question had little meaning since different respondents would probably have had different ideas about the meaning of words such as "substantially", and "somewhat".
- (c) It was not anticipated that the data would usefully elaborate the main points covered in the research.

First draft of question 11

What is your opinion regarding who should be involved in actions concerning Coloured squatting? Please tick the appropriate box or boxes.

Leaders in the Coloured squatter communities	
The Coloured squatters generally	
The general public	
Social welfare organisations	
The business sector	
Religious leaders	
Local authorities	
Central government	

Final form of the question (now numbered 5)

What is your opinion regarding who should be involved in interventions concerning Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. LEADERS IN THE COLOURED SQUATTER COMMUNITIES
2. COLOURED SQUATTERS GENERALLY
3. THE GENERAL PUBLIC
4. SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANISATIONS
5. THE BUSINESS SECTOR
6. RELIGIOUS LEADERS
7. LOCAL AUTHORITIES
8. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
9. NO ONE
10. OTHER (please specify below)

Comment

- (a) The addition of categories 9 and 10 allowed for responses from everyone.
- (b) The category "OTHER" served to open the series of alternatives.

First draft of question 12

Do you feel that there is a need for overall co-ordination of actions concerning Coloured squatting?

YES	
NO	

Final form of the question (now numbered 6)

Do you feel that there is a need for overall co-ordination of interventive activities in relation to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

Comment

- (a) "Interventive activities" was considered to be more specific than "actions" and avoided possible ambiguity.
- (b) The "Yes" and "No" sequence was reversed to counteract response tendencies to answer the first alternative more often and to answer "yes" more often.

First draft of question 13

If you answered 'YES' in question 12, please state who, or which types of organisations, or which sector should, in your opinion, take the major role in co-ordinating such actions.

.....

Final form of the question (now numbered 7)

If you answered "YES" in question 6, please state who, or which types of organisations, or which sector should, in your opinion, take the major role in co-ordinating such activities.

Comment

No significant changes were made.

First draft of question 14

Please add here any comments you may care to make on the potential advantages or disadvantages, as you see them, of co-ordinating actions in relation to Coloured squatting.

.....

Final form of the question (now numbered 8)

Please comment here on the potential advantages and disadvantages, as you see them, of co-ordinating interventive actions in relation to Coloured squatting

Comment

The coverage of the question was broadened by asking for advantages and disadvantages.

First draft of question 15

Do you consider it desirable that your organisation be involved in doing work in relation to Coloured squatting?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment

The question was rejected because nothing could have been predicted from the information this called for.

First draft of question 16

Is your organisation in any way engaged in working with Coloured squatters or doing work related to Coloured squatting?

YES	
NO	

Comment

This question was rejected because it was feared that respondents might answer "No" before they had considered the possible ways in which their organisations might have been involved in responses to Coloured squatting.

The meaning of this question was incorporated in the question numbered 9 in the final questionnaire under the category "none".

First draft of question 17

Which of the following activities in relation of Coloured squatting is your organisation engaged in this year (1983) and/or which has your organisation been engaged in during 1982 and 1981? Please answer by ticking in the box or boxes next to the applicable activities and in the columns for the relevant years.

Activities:	1983	1982	1981
Providing counselling services to individual squatters			
Organising group activities in squatter communities			
Establishing or maintaining community-based programmes			
Attracting new resources for aid to squatters			
Informing squatters on existing services			
Assisting squatters to use various services (e.g. providing transport to the nearest shopping centre or clinic)			
Disseminating information on squatting to the public or to authorities			
Organising of or participating in conferences on Coloured squatting			
Functioning as critic or pressure-group in relation to Coloured squatting			
Co-ordinating activities with other organisations in relation to Coloured squatting			

Final form of the question (now numbered 9)

During 1982, which (if any) of the following activities related to Coloured squatting did your organisation undertake?

Please circle the applicable number or numbers.

	activity engaged in
0	NONE
1.	PROVIDING COUNSELLING SERVICES TO INDIVIDUAL SQUATTERS
2.	ORGANISING GROUP ACTIVITIES IN SQUATTER COMMUNITIES
3.	ESTABLISHING OR MAINTAINING COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES
4.	ATTRACTING NEW RESOURCES FOR AID TO SQUATTERS
5.	INFORMING SQUATTERS ABOUT EXISTING SERVICES
6.	ASSISTING SQUATTERS TO USE SERVICES (e.g. by providing transport to the nearest clinic)
7.	DISSEMINATING INFORMATION ON SQUATTING TO THE PUBLIC OR TO AUTHORITIES
8.	ORGANISING OF OR PARTICIPATING IN CONFERENCES ON COLOURED SQUATTING
9.	FUNCTIONING AS CRITIC OR PRESSURE GROUP IN RELATION TO COLOURED SQUATTING
10.	CO-ORDINATING ACTIVITIES WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN RELATION TO COLOURED SQUATTING
11.	OTHER (Please specify in the space provided below)

Comment

The question remained essentially the same except for the following:-

- The addition of the categories "NONE" and "OTHER" made it possible for all respondents to answer.
- The new question provided an open-ended series of alternatives in the place of a closed one.
- The new question referred to 1982 only, thus making less work for respondents and leaving out variables that would not have been likely to add significantly to the study.

First draft of question 18

If the categories listed in question 17 do not cover the work your organisation is doing in relation to Coloured squatting, please add here whatever categories are applicable to your organisation and indicate by ticking in the appropriate box or boxes during which year(s) your organisation undertook such work.

Other activities	1983	1982	1981

Comment

This question was not used but its meaning came to be covered by the category "other" in question 9.

First draft of question 19

Is your organisation engaged in any of the following levels of intervention in relation to Coloured squatting? Please tick in the appropriate box or boxes.

Direct work with squatters	
Work with leaders in squatter communities	
Work with volunteers and interested persons other than squatters	
Work with business or professional groups	
Work with or representation to local authorities	
Work with or representation to central government	

Final form of the question (now numbered 10)

Which of the following levels of intervention in respect of Coloured squatting was your organisation engaged in during 1982?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. DIRECT WORK WITH SQUATTERS
2. WORK WITH LEADERS IN SQUATTER COMMUNITIES
3. WORK WITH VOLUNTEERS AND INTERESTED PERSONS
OTHER THAN SQUATTERS
4. CONTACT WITH BUSINESSMEN
5. CONTACT WITH PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE
6. CONTACT WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS
7. CONTACT WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES
8. CONTACT WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
9. OTHER (please specify below)

Comment

- (a) Inclusion of the category "OTHER" made it possible for all respondents to answer the question and extended this series of alternatives into an open-ended one.
- (b) Inclusion of the time period to be reported on avoided ambiguity in the question.
- (c) The new question was given a clearer and augmented list of categories.

First draft of question 20

What activities, if any, in relation to Coloured squatting is your organisation hoping to engage in during 1984? Please specify here:

.....

Comment

This question called for a projection from which one would not be able to predict anything. The question was, therefore, rejected.

First draft of question 21

Please give a rough estimate of the percentage of time your organisation devotes to activities in relation to Coloured squatting: %

First draft of question 22

Please give a rough estimate of the percentage of time your organisation devotes to activities in relation to squatting by all population groups (including Coloured squatters).: %

First draft of question 28

Please give a rough estimate of the percentage of time spent by social work staff in such activities: %

Comment

It was decided to reject questions 21, 22 and 28 for the reason that respondents were expected to have difficulty in estimating the percentage called for and because the data were, in any case, not considered potentially useful for amplifying the research.

First draft of question 23

The activities which your organisation undertakes in relation to Coloured squatting may be mainly of an ongoing nature or may be related more to specific crises. Please choose the appropriate box below to tick which is most applicable in your organisation.

ongoing work only	
more ongoing than crisis work	
about equal combination of ongoing work and crisis work	
more crisis work than ongoing work	
crisis work only	

Final form of the question (now numbered 11)

The activities which your organisation undertook with respect to Coloured squatting may have been of an ongoing nature or may have been in response to specific crises.

Please circle one of the numbers below to indicate which category is most applicable for the year 1982.

1. MAINLY (OR ONLY) ONGOING WORK
2. ABOUT EQUAL COMBINATION OF ONGOING WORK
AND CRISIS WORK
3. MAINLY (OR ONLY) CRISIS WORK

Comment

- (a) Inclusion of the year to be reported on made for greater clarity.
- (b) The new categories gave sufficient detail for what was required.

First draft of question 24

If your organisation does mainly crisis work or only crisis work in relation to Coloured squatting, please name the major type or types of crises dealt with.

- (i)
 (ii)
 (iii)

Final form of the question (now numbered 12)

If your organisation's work in relation to Coloured squatting was mainly (or only) crisis work, please name the major types of crises dealt with.

Comment

No significant changes were made.

First draft of question 25

Does your organisation experience any difficulties in the work related to Coloured squatting which are not experienced (or not experienced to the same extent) in work related to other client groups?

YES	
NO	

Final form of the question (now numbered 13)

Do you know of any difficulties in the work related to Coloured squatting which are not experienced to the same extent in work related to other client groups?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

Comment

No significant changes other than the reversal of the order of "Yes" and "No".

First draft of question 26

If your answer to question 25 is "YES", please specify the difficulty or difficulties here:

.....

Final form of the question (now numbered 14)

If your answer to question 13 was "YES", please specify the difficulty or difficulties here.

Comment

No significant changes were made.

First draft of question 27

Do the professional social workers in your organisation engage in the organisation's activities related to Coloured squatting?

YES

NO

Final form of the question (now numbered 17)

Did any of the social workers in your organisation engage in the organisation's activities related to Coloured squatting in 1982?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

Comment

- (a) Ambiguity about whether all social workers are referred to was avoided by asking whether any of the social workers were engaged in the activities.
- (b) The year date added certainty concerning the time period to be reported on.
- (c) The sequence "No", "Yes" was introduced.

First draft of question 29

Which of the following methods of social work is (or are) being used by the social workers in activities related to Coloured squatting?

Casework	
Groupwork	
Community work or community organisation	
Social work research	
Social work administration (in relation to co-ordination of squatter services)	

Final form of the question (now numbered 18)

Which of the following categories represent the method(s) mainly used by the social workers in your organisation in activities related to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number or numbers

1. CASEWORK
2. GROUPWORK
3. COMMUNITY WORK OR COMMUNITY ORGANISATION
4. SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH
5. SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION
6. OTHER (please specify below)

Comment

- (a) Only the mainly used methods were asked for in the final form.
- (b) The series of alternatives became open-ended by the inclusion of the category "Other".

First draft of question 30

Which of these methods is the main method (or are the main methods) employed in your organisation's work related to Coloured squatting? Please specify here:

.....

Comment

The need for this question fell away because of the change made in the previous question.

First draft of question 31

Do you consider all of these methods equally useful in work related to Coloured squatting?

YES

NO

Final form of the question (now numbered 19)

Do you consider all of these methods equally useful in work related to Coloured squatting?

Please circle the appropriate number

1. NO
2. YES

Comment

No significant changes were made except for the reversal of the "YES", "NO" sequence.

First draft of question 32

If you consider one or some of the methods more useful than some of the others, please name here the method or methods you consider most useful:

.....

Final form of the question (now numbered 20)

If you consider one or some of the methods more useful than some of the others, please name here the method or methods you consider most useful for work with Coloured squatters.

Comment

No significant changes were made.

APPENDIX C

THE COVERING LETTER TO
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

15 March 1983

To the Director,

This questionnaire is being sent to all voluntary welfare organisations and their branch offices in Greater Cape Town with a view to obtaining opinions and facts on interventions related to squatting by 'Coloured' people. This forms the basis for an approved research project of a staff member of the School of Social Work, University of Cape Town, who is engaged in post-graduate studies. You are being approached because the researcher believes that you will be able to contribute valuable data about an area of social welfare work that is at present not documented.

If the work of your organisation is not in any way related to squatters who are classified as "Coloured", please answer Section I of the questionnaire nevertheless. Your opinions will be of value to the research. Otherwise, please answer both Section I and Section II. Each of the two Sections should take up no more than approximately ten minutes of your time. Herself a social worker, the researcher is aware that your time is valuable and wishes to assure you that your contribution to this inquiry will be handled in a responsible manner.

An addressed and stamped envelope is provided to facilitate an early return of the questionnaire which should be received at the return address by 1 April.

The maximum possible number of responses is hoped for in order to process the returned data in a meaningful way. However, it may be that there is at present no one available in your organisation who is able to answer the questionnaire or you may have other reasons for not responding to it. In that case, your co-operation in returning the unanswered questionnaire with a statement to that effect on the front cover would be appreciated. It will greatly facilitate the analysis of the total responses.

The personal identity of respondents and the identity of responding organisations will not be known to the researcher.

Please note that the word "squatter", as it is used in this questionnaire, means: people living in recognised squatter communities or living where they have no legal right to be.

Ongelukkig is fondse te beperk om hierdie vraelys in albei amptelike tale uit te stuur. Antwoorde is egter welkom in ieder van die twee tale.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Mrs. C. Taylor
School of Social Work
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
RONDEBOSCH
7700

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